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HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

FROM THE

INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO

THE REVOLUTION in 1688.

By DAVID HUME, Esq;

A NEW EDITION

VOL. X.

BASILE

PRINTED BY A. J. TOURNIERS

PARIS;

AND BY F. DIDOT, BOOKSELLER, Quai des Augustins.

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O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N.

C H A P. LVIII.

Montrose's victories — The new model of the army — Battle of Naseby — Surrender of Bristol — The west conquered by Fairfax — Defeat of Montrose — Ecclesiastical affairs — King goes to the Scots at Newark — End of the war — King delivered up by the Scots.

WHILE the king's affairs declined in England, some events happened in Scotland, which seemed to promise him a more prosperous issue of the quarrel.

C H A P.
LVIII.
1645.

BEFORE the commencement of these civil disorders, the earl of Montrose, a young nobleman of a distinguished family, returning from his travels, had been introduced to the king,

Montrose's
victories

C H A P. and had made an offer of his services; but by
 LVIII. the insinuations of the marquis, afterwards duke
 1645. of Hamilton, who possessed much of Charles's
 confidence, he had not been received with that
 distinction, to which he thought himself justly
 entitled¹. Disgusted with this treatment, he
 had forwarded all the violence of the covenanters;
 and agreeably to the natural ardor of his genius,
 he had employed himself, during the first Scot-
 tish insurrection, with great zeal as well as
 success, in levying and conducting their armies.
 Being commissioned by the *Tables* to wait upon
 the king, while the royal army lay at Berwic,
 he was so gained by the civilities and caresses
 of that monarch, that he thenceforth devoted
 himself entirely, though secretly, to his service,
 and entered into a close correspondence with
 him. In the second insurrection, a great military
 command was intrusted to him by the cove-
 nanters; and he was the first that passed the
 Tweed, at the head of their troops, in the
 invasion of England. He found means, however,
 soon after to convey a letter to the king: And
 by the infidelity of some about that prince,
 Hamilton, as was suspected, a copy of this
 letter was sent to Leven, the Scottish general.
 Being accused of treachery and a correspondence
 with the enemy; Montrose openly avowed the
 letter; and asked the generals, if they dared
 to call their sovereign an enemy: And by this

¹ Nelson, Intr. p. 63.

bold and magnanimous behaviour, he escaped the danger of an immediate prosecution. As he was now fully known to be of the royal party, he no longer concealed his principles; and he endeavoured to draw those, who had entertained like sentiments, into a bond of association for his master's service. Though thrown into prison for this enterprize², and detained some time, he was not discouraged; but still continued, by his countenance and protection, to infuse spirit into the distressed royalists. Among other persons of distinction, who united themselves to him, was lord Napier of Merchiston, son of the famous inventor of the logarithms, the person to whom the title of a GREAT MAN is more justly due, than to any other, whom his country ever produced.

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LVIII.

1649.

THERE was in Scotland another party, who, professing equal attachment to the king's service, pretended only to differ with Montrose about the means of attaining the same end; and of that party, duke Hamilton was the leader. This nobleman had cause to be extremely devoted to the king, not only by reason of the connexion of blood, which united him to the royal family; but on account of the great confidence and favor,

² It is not improper to take notice of a mistake committed by Clarendon, much to the disadvantage of this gallant nobleman; that he offered the king, when his majesty was in Scotland, to assassinate Argyle. All the time the king was in Scotland, Montrose was confined to prison. Rush. vol. vi. p. 980.

C H A P. LVIII. 1645. with which he had ever been honored by his master. Being accused by lord Rae, not without some appearance or probability, of a conspiracy against the king; Charles was so far from harbouring suspicion against him, that, the very first time Hamilton came to court, he received him into his bedchamber, and passed alone the night with him³. But such was the duke's unhappy fate or conduct, that he escaped not the imputation of treachery to his friend and sovereign; and though he at last sacrificed his life in the king's service, his integrity and sincerity have not been thought by historians entirely free from blemish. Perhaps, (and this is the more probable opinion) the subtilties and refinements of his conduct and his temporizing maxims, though accompanied with good intentions, have been the chief cause of a suspicion, which has never yet been either fully proved or refuted. As much as the bold and vivid spirit of Montrose prompted him to enterprising measures, as much was the cautious temper of Hamilton inclined to such as were moderate and dilatory. While the former foretold, that the Scottish covenanters were secretly forming an union with the English parliament, and inculcated the necessity of preventing them by some vigorous undertaking; the latter still insisted, that every such attempt would precipitate them into measures, to which, otherwise, they were not, perhaps, inclined. After the Scottish convention was

³ Nelson, vol. ii. p. 683.

summoned without the king's authority, the former exclaimed, that their intentions were now visible, and that, if some unexpected blow were not struck, to dissipate them, they would arm the whole nation against the king; the latter maintained the possibility of outvoting the disaffected party, and securing, by peaceful means, the allegiance of the kingdom*. Unhappily for the royal cause, Hamilton's representations met with more credit from the king and queen, than those of Montrose; and the covenanters were allowed, without interruption, to proceed in all their hostile measures. Montrose then hastened to Oxford; where his invectives against Hamilton's treachery, concurring with the general prepossession, and supported by the unfortunate event of his counsels, were entertained with universal approbation. Influenced by the clamor of his party, more than his own suspicions, Charles, as soon as Hamilton appeared, sent him prisoner to Pendennis castle in Cornwall. His brother, Laneric, who was also put under confinement, found means to make his escape, and to fly into Scotland.

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THE king's ears were now open to Montrose's counsels, who proposed none but the boldest and most daring, agreeably to the desperate state of the royal cause in Scotland. Though the whole nation was subjected by the covenanters,

* Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 380, 381. Rush. vol. vi. p. 980. Wishart, cap. 2.

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though great armies were kept on foot by them, and every place guarded by a vigilant administration; he undertook, by his own credit, and that of the few friends, who remained to the king, to raise such commotions, as would soon oblige the malecontents to recal those forces, which had so sensibly thrown the balance in favor of the parliament'. Not discouraged with the defeat at Marston-moor, which rendered it impossible for him to draw any succour from England; he was content to stipulate with the earl of Antrim, a nobleman of Ireland, for some supply of men from that country. And he himself, changing his disguises and passing through many dangers, arrived in Scotland; where he lay concealed in the borders of the Highlands, and secretly prepared the minds of his partisans for attempting some great enterprise'.

No sooner were the Irish landed, though not exceeding eleven hundred foot, very ill armed, than Montrose declared himself, and entered upon that scene of action, which has rendered his name so celebrated. About eight hundred of the men of Athole flocked to his standard. Five hundred men more, who had been levied by the covenanters, were persuaded to embrace the royal cause: And with this combined force, he hastened to attack lord Elcho, who lay at

' Wishart, cap. 3.

' Clarendon, vol. v. p. 618. Rush. vol. vi. p. 982. Wishart, cap. 4.

Perth with an army of 6000 men, assembled upon the first news of the Irish invasion. Montrose, inferior in number, totally unprovided with horse, ill supplied with arms and ammunition, had nothing to depend on, but the courage, which he himself, by his own example, and the rapidity of his enterprizes, should inspire into his raw soldiers. Having received the fire of the enemy, which was answered chiefly by a volley of stones, he rushed amidst them with his sword drawn, threw them into confusion, pushed his advantage, and obtained a complete victory, with the slaughter of two thousand of the covenanters⁷.

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THIS victory, though it augmented the renown of Montrose, increased not his power or numbers. The far greater part of the kingdom was extremely attached to the covenant; and such as bore an affection to the royal cause, were terrified by the established authority of the opposite party. Dreading the superior power of Argyle, who, having joined his vassals to a force levied by the public, was approaching with a considerable army; Montrose hastened northwards, in order to rouse again the marquis of Huntley and the Gordons, who, having before hastily taken arms, had been instantly suppressed by the covenanters. He was joined on his march by the earl of Airly, with his two younger sons, Sir Thomas and

⁷ 1st of September, 1644. Rush. vol. vi. p. 983.
Wishart, cap. 5.

C H A P. LVIII. 1645. Sir David Ogilvy: The eldest was, at that time, a prisoner with the enemy. He attacked at Aberdeen the lord Burley, who commanded a force of 2500 men. After a sharp combat, by his undaunted courage, which, in his situation, was true policy, and was also not unaccompanied with military skill, he put the enemy to flight, and in the pursuit did great execution upon them^s.

BUT by this second advantage, he obtained not the end, which he expected. The envious nature of Huntley, jealous of Montrose's glory, rendered him averse to join an army, where he himself must be so much eclipsed by the superior merit of the general. Argyle, re-inforced by the earl of Lothian, was behind him with a great army: The militia of the northern counties. Murray, Ross, Caithness, to the number of 5000 men, opposed him in front, and guarded the banks of the Spey, a deep and rapid river. In order to elude these numerous armies, he turned aside into the hills, and saved his weak, but active troops, in Badenoch. After some marches and counter-marches, Argyle came up with him at Faivy-castle. This nobleman's character, though celebrated for political courage and conduct, was very low for military prowess; and after some skirmishes, in which he was worsted, he here allowed Montrose to escape

^s 11th of September, 1644. Rush. vol. vi. p. 983. Wishart, cap. 7.

him. By quick marches, through these inaccessible mountains, that general freed himself from the superior forces of the covenanters.

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SUCH was the situation of Montrose, that very good or very ill fortune was equally destructive to him, and diminished his army. After every victory, his soldiers, greedy of spoil, but deeming the smallest acquisition to be unexhausted riches, deserted in great numbers, and went home to secure the treasures, which they had acquired. Tired too, and spent with hasty and long marches, in the depth of winter, through snowy mountains, unprovided with every necessary, they fell off, and left their general almost alone with the Irish, who having no place, to which they could retire, still adhered to him in every fortune.

WITH these, and some reinforcements of the Athole-men, and Macdonalds, whom he had recalled, Montrose fell suddenly upon Argyle's country, and let loose upon it all the rage of war; carrying off the cattle, burning the houses, and putting the inhabitants to the sword. This severity, by which Montrose sullied his victories, was the result of private animosity against the chieftain, as much as of zeal for the public cause. Argyle, collecting three thousand men, marched in quest of the enemy, who had retired with their plunder; and he lay at Innerlochy, supposing himself still at a considerable distance from them. The earl of Seaforth, at the head of the garrison of Inverness, who were veteran

CHAP. soldiers, joined to 5000 new levied troops of the
 LVIII. northern counties, pressed the royalists on the
 1645. other side, and threatened them with inevitable
 destruction. By a quick and unexpected march,
 Montrose hastened to Innerlochy, and presented
 himself in order of battle, before the surpris'd,
 but not affrighten'd, covenanters. Argyle alone,
 seized with a panic, deserted his army, who
 still maintained their ground, and gave battle to
 the royalists. After a vigorous resistance, they
 were defeated, and pursued with great slaughter.
 And the power of the Campbells (that is Argyle's
 name) being thus broken; the highlanders, who
 were in general well-affected to the royal cause,
 began to join Montrose's camp, in great numbers.
 Seaforth's army dispersed of itself, at the very
 terror of his name. And lord Gordon, eldest
 son of Huntley, having escaped from his uncle
 Argyle, who had hitherto detained him, now
 joined Montrose, with no contemptible number
 of his followers, attended by his brother, the
 earl of Aboine.

THE council at Edinburgh, alarmed at Mont-
 rose's progress, began to think of a more regular
 plan of defence, against an enemy, whose repeat-
 ed victories had rendered him extremely formid-
 able. They sent for Baillie, an officer of reputa-
 tion, from England; and joining him in command
 with Urrey, who had again enlisted himself among
 the king's enemies, they sent them to the field,

² Rush. vol. vi. p. 985. Wishart. cap. 8.

with a considerable army, against the royalists. C H A P.
 Montrose, with a detachment of 800 men, had LVIII.
 attacked Dundee, a town extremely zealous for 1645.
 the covenant: And having carried it by assault,
 had delivered it up to be plundered by his sol-
 diers; when Baillie and Urrey, with their whole
 force, were unexpectedly upon him¹⁰. His
 conduct and presence of mind, in this emergency,
 appeared conspicuous. Instantly he called off his
 soldiers from plunder, put them in order, secur-
 ed his retreat by the most skilful measures; and
 having marched sixty miles in the face of an
 enemy much superior, without stopping, or
 allowing his soldiers the least sleep or refreshment,
 he at last secured himself in the mountains.

BAILLIE and Urrey now divided their troops,
 in order the better to conduct the war against an
 enemy, who surprised them, as much by the
 rapidity of his marches, as by the boldness of
 his enterprizes. Urrey, at the head of 4000 men,
 met him at Alderne, near Inverness; and, en-
 couraged by the superiority of number (for the
 covenanters were double the royalists,) attacked
 him in the post which he had chosen. Montrose,
 having placed his right wing in strong ground,
 drew the best of his forces to the other, and left
 no main body between them; a defect which he
 artfully concealed, by showing a few men through
 the trees and bushes, with which that ground
 was covered. That Urrey might have no leisure

¹⁰ Rush. vol. viii. p. 228. Wishart, cap. 9.

C H A P. to perceive the stratagem, he instantly led his
 LVIII. left wing to the charge; and making a furious
 1645. impression upon the covenanters, drove them
 off the field, and gained a complete victory ¹¹.
 In this battle, the valor of young Napier, son
 to the lord of that name, shone to with signal
 lustre.

BAILLIE now advanced, in order to revenge
 Urrey's discomfiture; but at Alford, he met,
 himself, with a like fate ¹². Montrose, weak
 in cavalry, here lined his troops of horse with
 infantry; and after putting the enemy's horse to
 rout, fell with united force upon their foot,
 who were entirely cut in pieces, though with
 the loss of the gallant lord Gordon on the part
 of the royalists ¹³. And having thus prevailed
 in so many battles, which his vigor ever render-
 ed as decisive as they were successful; he sum-
 moned together all his friends and partisans, and
 prepared himself for marching into the southern
 provinces, in order to put a final period to the
 power of the covenanters, and dissipate the par-
 liament, which, with great pomp and solemnity,
 they had summoned to meet at St. Johnstone's.

WHILE the fire was thus kindled in the north
 of the island, it blazed out with no less fury in
 the south: The parliamentary and royal armies,
 as soon as the season, would permit, prepared

¹¹ Rush. vol. vii. p. 229. Wishart, cap. 10.

¹² 2d of July.

¹³ Rush. vol. vii. p. 229. Wishart, cap. 11.

to take the field, in hopes of bringing their important quarrel to a quick decision. The passing of the self-denying ordinance had been protracted by so many debates and intrigues, that the spring was far advanced before it received the sanction of both houses; and it was thought dangerous by many to introduce, so near the time of action, such great innovations into the army. Had not the punctilious principles of Essex engaged him, amidst all the disgusts which he received, to pay implicit obedience to the parliament; this alteration had not been effected without some fatal accident: Since, notwithstanding his prompt resignation of the command, a mutiny was generally apprehended¹⁴. Fairfax, or more properly speaking, Cromwell under his name, introduced, at last, the *new model* into the army, and threw the troops into a different shape. From the same men, new regiments and new companies were formed, different officers appointed, and the whole military force put into such hands, as the independents could rely on. Besides members of parliament who were excluded, many officers, unwilling to serve under the new generals, threw up their commissions; and unwarily facilitated the project of putting the army entirely into the hands of that faction.

THOUGH the discipline of the former parliamentary army was not contemptible, a more

¹⁴ Rush. vol. vii. p. 126, 127.

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exact plan was introduced, and rigorously executed, by these new commanders. Valor indeed was very generally diffused over the one party as well as the other, during this period: Discipline also was attained by the forces of the parliament: But the perfection of the military art, in concerting the general plans of action, and the operations of the field, seems still, on both sides, to have been, in a great measure, wanting. Historians at least, perhaps from their own ignorance and inexperience, have not remarked any thing but a headlong impetuous conduct; each party hurrying to a battle, where valor and fortune chiefly determined the success. The great ornament of history, during these reigns, are the civil, not the military transactions.

New model
of the army.

NEVER surely was a more singular army assembled, than that which was now set on foot by the parliament. To the greater number of the regiments, chaplains were not appointed: The officers assumed the spiritual duty, and united it with their military functions. During the intervals of action, they occupied themselves in sermons, prayers, exhortations; and the same emulation, there, attended them, which, in the field, is so necessary to support the honor of that profession. Rapturous ecstasies supplied the place of study and reflection; and, while the zealous devotees poured out their thoughts in unpremeditated harangues, they mistook that eloquence, which, to their own surprise, as well as that of others, flowed in upon them, for divine illumina-

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tions, and for illapses of the Holy Spirit. Wherever they were quartered, they excluded the minister from his pulpit; and, usurping his place, conveyed their sentiments to the audience, with all the authority, which followed their power, their valor, and their military exploits, united to their appearing zeal and fervor. The private soldiers, seized with the same spirit, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in perusing the Holy Scriptures, in ghostly conferences; where they compared the progress of their souls in grace, and mutually stimulated each other to farther advances in the great work of their salvation. When they were marching to battle, the whole field resounded, as well with psalms and spiritual songs adapted to the occasion, as with the instruments of military music¹⁵; and every man endeavoured to drown the sense of present danger, in the prospect of that crown of glory, which was set before him. In so holy a cause, wounds were esteemed meritorious; death, martyrdom; and the hurry and dangers of action, instead of banishing their pious visions, rather served to impress their minds more strongly with them.

THE royalists were desirous of throwing a ridicule on this fanaticism of the parliamentary armies, without being sensible how much reason they had to apprehend its dangerous consequences.

¹⁵ Dugdale, p. 7. Rush. vol. vi. p. 281.

C H A P. ces. The forces, assembled by the king at
 LVIII. Oxford, in the west, and in other places, were
 1645. equal, if not superior, in number, to their
 adversaries; but actuated by a very different
 spirit. That licence, which had been introduced
 by want of pay, had risen to a great height
 among them, and rendered them more formid-
 able to their friends than to their enemies. Prince
 Rupert, negligent of the people, fond of the
 soldiery, had indulged the troops in unwarrant-
 able liberties: Wilmot, a man of dissolute man-
 ners, had promoted the same spirit of disorder:
 And the licentious Goring, Gerrard, Sir Richard
 Granville, now carried it to a great pitch of
 enormity. In the west especially, where Goring
 commanded, universal spoil and havoc were
 committed; and the whole country was laid
 waste by the rapine of the army. All distinction
 of parties being in a manner dropped; the most
 devoted friends of the church and monarchy
 wished there for such success to the parliament-
 ary forces, as might put an end to these oppres-
 sions. The country-people, despoiled of their
 substance, flocked together in several places,
 armed with clubs and staves; and though they
 professed an enmity to the soldiers of both parties,
 their hatred was in most places levelled chiefly
 against the royalists, from whom they had met
 with the worst treatment. Many thousands of
 these tumultuary peasants were assembled in
 different parts of England; who destroyed all

such

such straggling foldiers as they met with, and much infested the armies ¹⁶.

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THE disposition of the forces on both sides, was as follows: Part of the Scottish army was employed in taking Pomfret, and other towns in Yorkshire: Part of it besieged Carlisle, valiantly defended by sir Thomas Glenham. Chester, where Biron commanded, had long been blockaded by sir William Brereton; and was reduced to great difficulties. The king, being joined by the princes, Rupert and Maurice, lay at Oxford, with a considerable army, about 15,000 men. Fairfax and Cromwel were posted at Windsor, with the new-modelled army, about 22,000 men. Taunton, in the county of Somerset, defended by Blake, suffered a long siege from Sir Richard Granville, who commanded an army of about 8000 men; and though the defence had been obstinate, the garrison was now reduced to the last extremity. Goring commanded, in the west, an army of nearly the same number ¹⁷.

ON opening the campaign, the king formed the project of relieving Chester; Fairfax, that of relieving Taunton. The king was first in motion. When he advanced to Draiton in Shropshire, Biron met him, and brought intelligence, that his approach had raised the siege, and that the parliamentary army had withdrawn. Fairfax,

¹⁶ Rush. vol. vii. p. 52. 61, 62. Whitloke, p. 130, 131. 133. 135. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 665.

¹⁷ Rush. vol. vii. p. 18, 19, &c.

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having reached Salisbury in his road westward, received orders from the committee of both kingdoms, appointed for the management of the war, to return and lay siege to Oxford, now exposed by the king's absence. He obeyed, after sending colonel Weldon to the west, with a detachment of 4000 men. On Weldon's approach, Granville, who imagined that Fairfax with his whole army was upon him, raised the siege, and allowed this pertinacious town, now half taken and half burned, to receive relief: But the royalists, being reinforced with 3000 horse under Goring, again advanced to Taunton, and shut up Weldon, with his small army, in that ruinous place ¹⁸.

THE king having effected his purpose with regard to Chester, returned southwards; and, in his way, sat down before Leicester, a garrison of the parliament's. Having made a breach in the wall, he stormed the town on all sides; and, after a furious assault, the soldiers entered sword in hand, and committed all those disorders, to which their natural violence, especially when inflamed by resistance, is so much addicted ¹⁹. A great booty was taken and distributed among them: Fifteen hundred prisoners fell into the king's hands. This success, which struck a great terror into the parliamentary party, determined Fairfax to leave Oxford, which he was beginning to approach; and he marched towards the king,

¹⁸ Rush. vol. vii. p. 28. ¹⁹ Clarendon, vol. v. p. 652.

with an intention of offering him battle. The king was advancing towards Oxford, in order to raise the siege, which, he apprehended, was now begun; and both armies, ere they were aware, had advanced within six miles of each other. A council of war was called by the king, in order to deliberate concerning the measures, which he should now pursue. On the one hand, it seemed more prudent to delay the combat; because Gerrard, who lay in Wales with 3000 men, might be enabled, in a little time, to join the army; and Goring, it was hoped, would soon be master of Taunton, and having put the west in full security, would then unite his forces to those of the king, and give him an incontestible superiority over the enemy. On the other hand, prince Rupert, whose boiling ardor still pushed him on to battle, excited the impatient humor of the nobility and gentry, of which the army was full; and urged the many difficulties, under which the royalists labored, and from which nothing but a victory could relieve them: The resolution was taken to give battle to Fairfax; and the royal army immediately advanced upon him.

AT Naseby was fought, with forces nearly equal, this decisive and well disputed action, between the king and parliament. The main body of the royalists was commanded by the king himself: The right wing, by prince Rupert; the left, by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Fairfax, seconded by Skippon, placed himself in the main body of

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1645.

Battle of
Naseby.

C H A P. the opposite army: Cromwel, in the right wing:
 LVIII. Ireton, Cromwel's son-in-law, in the left. The
 1645. charge was begun, with his usual celerity and
 usual success, by prince Rupert. Though Ireton
 made stout resistance, and even after he was run
 through the thigh with a pike, still maintained
 the combat, till he was taken prisoner; yet was
 that whole wing broken, and pursued with pre-
 cipitate fury by Rupert: He was even so inconfi-
 derate as to lose time in summoning and attacking
 the artillery of the enemy, which had been left
 with a good guard of infantry. The king led
 on his main body, and displayed, in this action,
 all the conduct of a prudent general, and all the
 valor of a stout foldier ²⁰. Fairfax and Skippon
 encountered him, and well supported that repu-
 tation, which they had acquired. Skippon, being
 dangerously wounded, was desired by Fairfax to
 leave the field; but declared that he would remain
 there as long as one man maintained his ground ²¹.
 The infantry of the parliament was broken, and
 pressed upon by the king; till Fairfax, with great
 presence of mind, brought up the reserve and
 renewed the combat. Meanwhile, Cromwel,
 having led on his troops to the attack of Lang-
 dale, overbore the force of the royalists, and by
 his prudence improved that advantage, which
 he had gained by his valor. Having pursued the
 enemy about a quarter of a mile, and detached

²⁰ Whitlocke, p. 146.

²¹ Rush. vol. vii. p. 43. Whitlocke, p. 145.

some troops to prevent their rallying; he turned back upon the king's infantry, and threw them into the utmost confusion. One regiment alone preserved its order unbroken, though twice desperately assailed by Fairfax: And that general, excited by so steady a resistance, ordered Doyley, the captain of his life-guard, to give them a third charge in front, while he himself attacked them in rear. The regiment was broken. Fairfax, with his own hands, killed an ensign, and, having seized the colors, gave them to a soldier to keep for him. The soldier afterwards boasting that he had won this trophy, was reproved by Doyley, who had seen the action; *Let him retain that honor,* said Fairfax, *I have to-day acquired enough beside* ²².

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1645.

PRINCE RUPERT, sensible too late of his error, left the fruitless attack on the enemy's artillery, and joined the king, whose infantry was now totally discomfited. Charles exhorted this body of cavalry not to despair, and cried aloud to them, *One charge more, and we recover the day* ²³. But the disadvantages, under which they labored, were too evident; and they could by no means be induced to renew the combat. Charles was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy ²⁴. The slain, on the side of the parliament, exceeded those on the side of the king: They lost a thousand men; he not above

²² Whitlocke, p. 145.²³ Rush. vol. vii. p. 44.²⁴ Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 656, 657. Walker, p. 130, 131.

C H A P. LVIII. 1645. eight hundred. But Fairfax made 500 officers prisoners, and 4000 private men; took all the king's artillery and ammunition; and totally dissipated his infantry: So that scarce any victory could be more complete, than that which he obtained.

AMONG the other spoils, was seized the king's cabinet, with the copies of his letters to the queen, which the parliament afterwards ordered to be published²⁵. They chose, no doubt, such of them as they thought would reflect dishonor on him: Yet upon the whole, the letters are written with delicacy and tenderness, and give an advantageous idea both of the king's genius and morals. A mighty fondness, it is true, and attachment, he expresses to his consort, and often professes that he never would embrace any measures, which she disapproved: But such declarations of civility and confidence are not always to be taken in a full literal sense. And so legitimate an affection, avowed by the laws of God and man, may, perhaps, be excusable towards a woman of beauty and spirit, even though she was a papist²⁶.

²⁵ Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 658.

²⁶ Hearne has published the following extract from a manuscript-work of Sir Simon D'Ewes, who was no mean man in the parliamentary party. "On Thursday the 30th and last day of this instant June 1625, I went to Whitehall, purposely to see the queen, which I did fully all the time she sat at dinner. I perceived her to be a most absolute delicate lady, after I had

THE Athenians, having intercepted a letter written by their enemy, Philip of Macedon, to his wife, Olympia; so far from being moved by a curiosity of prying into the secrets of that relation, immediately sent the letter to the queen unopened. Philip was not their sovereign; nor were they inflamed with that violent animosity against him, which attends all civil commotions.

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AFTER the battle, the king retreated with that body of horse, which remained entire, first to Hereford, then to Abergavenny; and remained some time in Wales, from the vain hope of raising a body of infantry in those harassed and exhausted quarters. Fairfax, having first retaken Leicester, which was surrendered upon articles, began to deliberate concerning his future enterprises. A letter was brought him, written by Goring to the king, and unfortunately entrusted to a spy of Fairfax's. Goring there informed the king, that, in three weeks, he hoped to be master of Taunton; after which he would join his majesty with all the forces in the west; and entreated him, in the mean while, to avoid coming to any general action. This letter, which, had it been

17th June

“ exactly surveyed all the features of her face, much
 “ enlivened by her radiant and sparkling black eyes. Besides,
 “ her deportment among her women was so sweet and
 “ humble, and her speech and looks to her other ser-
 “ vants so mild and gracious, as I could not abstain
 “ from divers deep fetched sighs, to consider, that she
 “ wanted the knowledge of the true religion.” See
 Preface to the Chronicle of Dunstable, p. 64.

O H A P. safely delivered, had probably prevented the
LVIII. battle of Naseby, served now to direct the ope-
1645. rations of Fairfax ²⁷. After leaving a body of
 3000 men to Pointz and Rossiter, with orders to
 attend the king's motions, he marched immedi-
 ately to the west, with a view of saving Taunton,
 and suppressing the only considerable force, which
 now remained to the royalists.

IN the beginning of the campaign, Charles,
 apprehensive of the event, had sent the prince
 of Wales, then fifteen years of age, to the west,
 with the title of general, and had given orders,
 if he were pressed by the enemy, that he should
 make his escape into a foreign country, and save
 one part of the royal family from the violence
 of the parliament. Prince Rupert had thrown
 himself into Bristol, with an intention of defend-
 ing that important city. Goring commanded the
 army before Taunton.

20th July.

ON Fairfax's approach, the siege of Taunton
 was raised; and the royalists retired to Lamport,
 an open town in the county of Somerset. Fair-
 fax attacked them in that post, beat them from
 it, killed about 300 men, and took 1400 prison-
 ers ²⁸. After this advantage, he sat down before
 Bridgewater, a town esteemed strong, and of
 great consequence in that country. When he had
 entered the outer town by storm, Windham, the
 governor, who had retired into the inner, im-

²⁷ Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 49.

²⁸ Ibid. vol. vii. p. 55.

mediately capitulated, and delivered up the place to Fairfax. The garrison, to the number of 2600 men, were made prisoners of war.

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1645.

23d July.

FAIRFAX, having next taken Bath and Sherborne, resolved to lay siege to Bristol, and made great preparations for an enterprize, which, from the strength of the garrison, and the reputation of prince Rupert, the governor, was deemed of the last importance. But, so precarious in most men is this quality of military courage, a poorer defence was not made by any town, during the whole war: And the general expectations were here extremely disappointed. No sooner had the parliamentary forces entered the lines by storm, than the prince capitulated, and surrendered the city to Fairfax ²⁹. A few days before, he had written a letter to the king, in which he undertook to defend the place for four months, if no mutiny obliged him to surrender it. Charles, who was forming schemes, and collecting forces, for the relief of Bristol, was astonished at so unexpected an event, which was little less fatal to his cause than the defeat at Naseby ³⁰. Full of indignation, he instantly recalled all prince Rupert's commissions, and sent him a pass to go beyond sea ³¹.

11th Sept.

Surrender
of Bristol.

THE king's affairs now went fast to ruin in all quarters. The Scots, having made themselves masters of Carlisle ³², after an obstinate siege,

²⁹ Rush. vol. vii. p. 83.

³⁰ Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 690. Walker, p. 137.

³¹ Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 695. ³² 28th of June.

C H A P. marched southwards, and laid siege to Hereford;
 LVIII. but were obliged to raise it on the king's approach:
 1645. And this was the last glimpse of success, which

attended his arms. Having marched to the relief
 of Chester, which was a-new besieged by the
 parliamentary forces under colonel Jones; Pointz
 attacked his rear, and forced him to give battle.
 24th Sept: While the fight was continued with great ob-
 stinacy, and victory seemed to incline to the
 royalists; Jones fell upon them from the other
 side, and put them to rout, with the loss of 600
 slain and 1000 prisoners³³. The king, with the
 remains of his broken army, fled to Newark, and
 thence escaped to Oxford, where he shut himself
 up during the winter-season.

THE news, which he received from every
 quarter, were no less fatal than those events,
 which passed, where he himself was present.
 Fairfax and Cromwel, after the surrender of
 Bristol, having divided their forces, the former
 marched westwards, in order to complete the
 conquest of Devonshire and Cornwall; the latter
 attacked the king's garrisons which lay to the east
 of Bristol. The Devizes were surrendered to
 Cromwel; Berkeley-castle was taken by storm;
 Winchester capitulated; Basing-house was entered
 sword in hand: And all these middle counties of
 England were, in a little time, reduced to obedi-
 ence under the parliament.

THE same rapid and uninterrupted success at-

³³ Rush. vol. vii. p. 117.

tended Fairfax. The parliamentary forces, elated by past victories, governed by the most rigid discipline, met with no equal opposition from troops, dismayed by repeated defeats, and corrupted by licentious manners. After beating up the quarters of the royalists at Bovey-Tracy, Fairfax sat down before Dartmouth, and in a few days entered it by storm. Poudram castle being taken by him, and Exeter blockaded on all sides; Hopton, a man of merit, who now commanded the royalists, having advanced to the relief of that town with an army of 8000 men, met with the parliamentary army at Torrington; where he was defeated, all his foot dispersed, and he himself with his horse obliged to retire into Cornwall. Fairfax followed him, and vigorously pursued the victory. Having inclosed the royalists at Truro, he forced the whole army, consisting of 5000 men, chiefly cavalry, to surrender upon terms. The soldiers, delivering up their horses and arms, were allowed to disband, and received twenty shillings a-piece, to carry them to their respective abodes. Such of the officers, as desired it, had passes to retire beyond sea: The others, having promised never more to bear arms, payed compositions to the parliament³⁴, and procured their pardon³⁵. And thus

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The west
conquered
by Fairfax.

18th Jan.

19 Feb.

³⁴ These compositions were different, according to the demerits of the person: But by a vote of the house they could not be under two years rent of the delinquent's estate. Journ. 11th of August 1648. Whitlocke, p. 160.

³⁵ Rush. vol. viii. p. 108.

C H A P. Fairfax, after taking Exeter, which completed
 LVIII. the conquest of the west, marched, with his
 1646. victorious army, to the centre of the kingdom,
 and fixed his camp at Newbury. The prince of
 Wales, in pursuance of the king's orders, retired
 to Scilly, thence to Jersey; whence he went to
 Paris; where he joined the queen, who had fled
 thither from Exeter, at the time the earl of Essex
 conducted the parliamentary army to the west.

IN the other parts of England, Hereford was
 taken by surprise: Chester surrendered: Lord
 Digby, who had attempted, with 1200 horse,
 to break into Scotland and join Montrose, was
 defeated at Sherburn, in Yorkshire, by colonel
 Copley; his whole force was dispersed; and he
 himself was obliged to fly, first to the isle of
 Man, thence to Ireland. News too arrived that
 Montrose himself, after some more successes, was
 at last routed; and this only remaining hope of
 the royal party finally extinguished.

WHEN Montrose descended into the southern
 counties, the covenanters, assembling their whole
 force, met him with a numerous army, and gave
 him battle, but without success, at Killyth³⁶.
 This was the most complete victory that Mont-
 rose ever obtained. The royalists put to sword
 six thousand of their enemies, and left the coven-
 anters no remains of any army in Scotland. The
 whole kingdom was shaken with these repeated
 successes of Montrose; and many noblemen, who

³⁶ 15th August, 1645.

secretly favored the royal cause, now declared openly for it, when they saw a force able to support them. The marquis of Douglass, the earls of Annandale and Hartfield, the lords Fleming, Seton, Maderty, Carnegy, with many others, flocked to the royal standard. Edinburgh opened its gates, and gave liberty to all the prisoners, there detained by the covenanters. Among the rest, was lord Ogilvy, son of Airly, whose family had contributed extremely to the victory, gained at Kilsyth ³⁷.

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DAVID LESLY was detached from the army in England, and marched to the relief of his distressed party in Scotland. Montrose advanced still farther to the south, allured by vain hopes, both of rousing to arms the earls of Hume, Traquaire, and Roxborough, who had promised to join him; and of obtaining from England some supply of cavalry, in which he was deficient. By the negligence of his scouts, Lesly, at Philip-haugh in the Forest, surprised his army, much diminished in numbers, from the desertion of the Highlanders, who had retired to the hills, according to custom, in order to secure their plunder. After a sharp conflict, where Montrose exerted great valor, his forces were routed by Lesly's cavalry ³⁸: And he himself was obliged to fly with his broken forces into the mountains; where he again prepared himself for new battles and new enterprises ³⁹.

Defeat of
Montrose.

³⁷ Rush. vol. vii. p. 230, 231. Wishart, cap. 13.

³⁸ 13th of Sept. 1645. ³⁹ Rush. vol. vii. p. 231.

C H A P. THE covenanters used the victory with rigor.
 LVIII. Their prisoners, Sir Robert Spotiswood, secretary
 1646. of state, and son to the late primate, Sir Philip
 Nisbet, Sir William Rollo, colonel Nathaniel
 Gordon, Andrew Guthry, son of the bishop of
 Murray, William Murray, son of the earl of
 Tullibardine, were condemned and executed.
 The sole crime, imputed to the secretary, was
 his delivering to Montrose the king's commission
 to be captain-general of Scotland. Lord Ogilvy,
 who was again taken prisoner, would have under-
 gone the same fate, had not his sister found
 means to procure his escape, by changing clothes
 with him. For this instance of courage and
 dexterity, she met with harsh usage. The clergy
 solicited the parliament, that more royalists might
 be executed; but could not obtain their request⁴⁰.

AFTER all these repeated disasters, which every
 where befel the royal party, there remained only
 one body of troops, on which fortune could
 exercise her rigor. Lord Astley with a small army
 of 3000 men, chiefly cavalry, marching to Ox-
 ford, in order to join the king, was met at
 Stowe by colonel Morgan, and entirely defeated;
 himself being taken prisoner. "You have done
 your work," said Astley to the parliamentary
 officers; "and may now go to play, unless you
 chuse to fall out among yourselves"⁴¹.

⁴⁰ Guthry's Memoirs. Rush. vol. vii. p. 232.

⁴¹ Rush. vol. vii. p. 141. It was the same Astley,
 who, before he charged at the battle of Edgehill, made
 this short prayer, *O Lord! thou knowest how busy I*

THE condition of the king, during this whole winter, was, to the last degree, disastrous and melancholy. As the dread of ills is commonly more oppressive than their real presence, perhaps in no period of his life was he more justly the object of compassion. His vigor of mind, which, though it sometimes failed him in acting, never deserted him in his sufferings, was what alone supported him; and he was determined, as he wrote to lord Digby, if he could not live as a king, to die like a gentleman; nor should any of his friends, he said, ever have reason to blush for the prince, whom they had so unfortunately served ⁴². The murmurs of discontented officers, on the one hand, harassed their unhappy sovereign; while they over-rated those services and sufferings, which, they now saw, must, for ever, go unrewarded ⁴³. The affectionate duty, on the other hand, of his more generous friends, who respected his misfortunes and his virtues, as much as his dignity, wrung his heart with a new sorrow; when he reflected, that such disinterested attachment would so soon be exposed to the rigor of his implacable enemies. Repeated attempts, which he made for a peaceful and

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must be this day. If I forget thee, do not thou forget me. And with that rose up, and cried, *March on, boys!* Warwick, p. 229. There were certainly much longer prayers said in the parliamentary army; but I doubt if there was so good a one.

⁴² Carte's Ormond, vol. iii. N^o. 433.

⁴³ Walker, p. 147.

C H A P. equitable accommodation with the parliament,
LVIII. served to no purpose, but to convince them,
1646. that the victory was entirely in their hands. They
 deigned not to make the least reply to several of
 his messages, in which he desired a passport for
 commissioners ⁴⁴. At last, after reproaching him
 with the blood spilt during the war, they told
 him, that they were preparing bills for him; and
 his passing them would be the best pledge of his
 inclination towards peace: In other words, he
 must yield at discretion ⁴⁵. He desired a personal
 treaty, and offered to come to London, upon
 receiving a safe conduct for himself and his attend-
 ants: They absolutely refused him admittance,
 and issued orders for the guarding, that is, the
 seizing of his person, in case he should attempt
 to visit them ⁴⁶. A new incident, which happened
 in Ireland, served to inflame the minds of men,
 and to increase those calumnies, with which his
 enemies had so much loaded him, and which he
 ever regarded as the most grievous part of his
 misfortunes.

AFTER the cessation with the Irish rebels, the
 king was desirous of concluding a final peace
 with them, and obtaining their assistance in Eng-
 land: And he gave authority to Ormond, lord
 lieutenant, to promise them an abrogation of all
 the penal laws, enacted against catholics; together

⁴⁴ Rush. vol. vii. p. 215. &c.

⁴⁵ Ibid. vol. vii. p. 217. 219. Clarendon vol. iv. p. 744.

⁴⁶ Rush. vol. vii. p. 249. Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 741.

with the suspension of Poinings' statute, with regard to some particular bills, which should be agreed on. Lord Herbert, created earl of Glamorgan, (though his patent had not yet passed the seals) having occasion for his private affairs to go to Ireland, the king considered, that this nobleman, being a catholic and allied to the best Irish families, might be of service: He also foresaw, that farther concessions with regard to religion might probably be demanded by the bigotted Irish; and that, as these concessions, however necessary, would give great scandal to the protestant zealots in his three kingdoms, it would be requisite, both to conceal them during some time, and to preserve Ormond's character, by giving private orders to Glamorgan to conclude and sign these articles. But as he had a better opinion of Glamorgan's zeal and affection for his service, than of his capacity, he enjoined him to communicate all his measures to Ormond; and though the final conclusion of the treaty must be executed only in Glamorgan's own name, he was required to be directed, in the steps towards it, by the opinion of the lord lieutenant. Glamorgan, bigotted to his religion, and passionate for the king's service, but guided in these pursuits by no manner of judgment or discretion, secretly, of himself, without any communication with Ormond, concluded a peace with the council of Kilkenny, and agreed in the king's name, that the Irish should enjoy all the churches, of which they had ever been in possession, since the

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C H A P. commencement of their infurrection; on condition
 LVIII. that they should assist the king in England with
 1646. a body of ten thousand men. This transaction
 was discovered by accident. The titular arch-
 bishop of Tuam being killed by a fall of the
 garrison of Sligo, the articles of the treaty were
 found among his baggage, and were immediately
 published every where, and copies of them sent
 over to the English parliament ⁴⁷. The lord
 lieutenant and lord Digby, foreseeing the clamor
 which would be raised against the king, com-
 mitted Glamorgan to prison, charged him with
 treason for his temerity, and maintained, that
 he had acted altogether without any authority
 from his master. The English parliament however
 neglected not so favorable an opportunity of
 reviving the old clamor with regard to the king's
 favor of popery, and accused him of delivering
 over, in a manner, the whole kingdom of Ireland
 to that hated sect. The king told them, "That
 " the earl of Glamorgan having made an offer to
 " raise forces in the kingdom of Ireland, and to
 " conduct them into England for his majesty's
 " service, had a commission to that purpose, and
 " to that purpose only, and that he had no
 " commission at all to treat of any thing else,
 " without the privity and direction of the lord
 " lieutenant, much less to capitulate any thing
 " concerning religion, or any property belong-
 " ing either to church or laity ⁴⁸." Though this

⁴⁷ Rush. vol. vii. p. 239.

⁴⁸ Birch, p. 119.

declaration seems agreeable to truth, it gave no satisfaction to the parliament; and some historians, even at present, when the ancient bigotry is somewhat abated, are desirous of representing this very innocent transaction, in which the king was engaged by the most violent necessity, as a stain on the memory of that unfortunate prince *.

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HAVING lost all hope of prevailing over the rigor of the parliament, either by arms or by treaty, the only resource, which remained to the king, was derived from the intestine dissensions, which ran very high among his enemies. Presbyterians and independents, even before their victory was fully completed, fell into contests about the division of the spoil; and their religious as well as civil disputes agitated the whole kingdom.

THE parliament, though they had early abolished episcopal authority, had not, during so long a time, substituted any other spiritual government in its place; and their committees of religion had hitherto assumed the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction: But they now established, by an ordinance, the presbyterian model in all its forms of *congregational*, *classical*, *provincial*, and *national* assemblies. All the inhabitants of each parish were ordered to meet and chuse elders, on whom, together with the minister, was bestowed the entire direction of all spiritual concerns within

Ecclesiastical
affairs.

* See note [A] at the end of the volume.

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the congregation. A number of neighbouring parishes, commonly between twelve and twenty, formed a classis; and the court, which governed this division, was composed of all the ministers, together with two, three, or four elders chosen from each parish. The provincial assembly retained an inspection over several neighbouring classes, and was composed entirely of clergymen: The national assembly was constituted in the same manner; and its authority extended over the whole kingdom. It is probable, that the tyranny, exercised by the Scottish clergy, had given warning not to allow laymen a place in the provincial or national assemblies; lest the nobility and more considerable gentry, soliciting a seat in these great ecclesiastical courts, should bestow a consideration upon them, and render them, in the eyes of the multitude, a rival to the parliament. In the inferior courts, the mixture of the laity might serve rather to temper the usual zeal of the clergy⁸⁰.

BUT though the presbyterians, by the establishment of parity among the ecclesiastics, were so far gratified, they were denied satisfaction in several other points, on which they were extremely intent. The assembly of divines had voted presbytery to be of divine right: The parliament refused their assent to that decision⁸¹. Selden, Whitlocke, and other political reasoners, assisted

⁸⁰ Rush. vol. vii. p. 224.

⁸¹ Whitlocke, p. 106. Rush. vol. vii. p. 260, 261.

by the independents, had prevailed in this important deliberation. They thought, that, had the bigotted religionists been able to get their heavenly charter recognized, the presbyters would soon become more dangerous to the magistrate than had ever been the prelatical clergy. These latter, while they claimed to themselves a divine right, admitted of a like origin to civil authority: The former, challenging to their own order a celestial pedigree, derived the legislative power from a source no more dignified than the voluntary association of the people.

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UNDER color of keeping the sacraments from profanation, the clergy of all christian sects had assumed, what they call the power of the keys, or the right of fulminating excommunication. The example of Scotland was a sufficient lesson for the parliament to use precaution in guarding against so severe a tyranny. They determined, by a general ordinance, all the cases in which excommunication could be used. They allowed of appeals to parliament from all ecclesiastical courts. And they appointed commissioners in every province to judge of such cases as fell not within their general ordinance⁵². So much civil authority, intermixed with the ecclesiastical, gave disgust to all the zealots.

BUT nothing was attended with more universal scandal than the propensity of many in the parliament towards a toleration of the protestant

⁵² Rush. vol. vii. p. 210.

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sectaries. The presbyterians exclaimed, that this indulgence made the church of Christ resemble Noah's ark, and rendered it a receptacle for all unclean beasts. They insisted, that the least of Christ's truths was superior to all political considerations⁵³. They maintained the eternal obligation imposed by the covenant to extirpate heresy and schism. And they menaced all their opponents with the same rigid persecution, under which they themselves had groaned, when held in subjection by the hierarchy.

So great prudence and reserve, in such material points, does great honor to the parliament; and proves, that, notwithstanding the prevalency of bigotry and fanaticism, there were many members, who had more enlarged views, and paid regard to the civil interests of society. These men, uniting themselves to the enthusiasts, whose genius is naturally averse to clerical usurpations, exercised so jealous an authority over the assembly of divines, that they allowed them nothing but the liberty of tendering advice, and would not intrust them even with the power of electing their own chairman or his substitute, or of supplying the vacancies of their own members.

WHILE these disputes were canvassed by theologians, who engaged in their spiritual contests every order of the state; the king, though he entertained hopes of reaping advantage from those divisions, was much at a loss which side it

⁵³ Rush. vol. vii. p. 308.

would be most for his interest to comply with. The presbyterians were, by their principles, the least averse to regal authority; but were rigidly bent on the extirpation of prelacy: The independents were resolute to lay the foundation of a republican government; but as they pretended not to erect themselves into a national church, it might be hoped, that, if gratified with a toleration, they would admit the re-establishment of the hierarchy. So great attachment had the king to episcopal jurisdiction, that he was ever inclined to put it in balance even with his own power and kingly office.

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BUT whatever advantage he might hope to reap from the divisions in the parliamentary party, he was apprehensive, lest it should come too late, to save him from the destruction, with which he was instantly threatened. Fairfax was approaching with a powerful and victorious army, and was taking the proper measures for laying siege to Oxford, which must infallibly fall into his hands. To be taken captive, and led in triumph by his insolent enemies, was what Charles justly abhorred; and every insult, if not violence, was to be dreaded, from that enthusiastic soldiery, who hated his person, and despised his dignity. In this desperate extremity, he embraced a measure, which in any other situation, might lie under the imputation of imprudence and indiscretion.

MONTREVILLE, the French minister, interested for the king more by the natural sentiments of

CHAP. LVIII. 1646. humanity, than any instructions from his court, which seemed rather to favor the parliament, had solicited the Scottish generals and commissioners, to give protection to their distressed sovereign; and having received many general professions and promises, he had always transmitted these, perhaps with some exaggeration, to the king. From his suggestions, Charles began to entertain thoughts of leaving Oxford, and flying to the Scottish army, which at that time lay before Newark⁵⁴. He considered, that the Scottish nation had been fully gratified in all their demands; and having already, in their own country, annihilated both episcopacy and regal authority, had no farther concessions to exact from him. In all disputes, which had passed about settling the terms of peace, the Scots, he heard, had still adhered to the milder side, and had endeavoured to soften the rigor of the English parliament. Great disgusts also, on other accounts, had taken place between the nations; and the Scots found, that, in proportion as their assistance became less necessary, less value was put upon them. The progress of the independents gave them great alarm; and they were scandalized to hear their beloved covenant spoken of, every day, with less regard and reverence. The refusal of a divine right to presbytery, and the infringing of ecclesiastical discipline from political considerations, were, to them, the subject of much offence: And the king hoped,

⁵⁴ Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 750. vol. v. p. 16.

that, in their present disposition, the sight of their native prince, flying to them in this extremity of distress, would rouse every spark of generosity in their bosom, and procure him their favor and protection.

THAT he might the better conceal his intentions, orders were given at every gate in Oxford, for allowing three persons to pass; and in the night, the king, accompanied by none but Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, went out at that gate, which leads to London. He rode before a portmanteau, and called himself Ashburnham's servant. He passed through Henly, St. Albans, and came so near to London as Harrow on the Hill. He once entertained thoughts of entering into that city, and of throwing himself on the mercy of the parliament. But at last, after passing through many cross roads, he arrived at the Scottish camp before Newark⁵⁵. The parliament, hearing of his escape from Oxford, issued rigorous orders, and threatened with instant death, whoever should harbour or conceal him⁵⁶.

THE Scottish generals and commissioners affected great surprise on the appearance of the king: And though they payed him all the exterior respect due to his dignity, they instantly set a guard upon him, under color of protection; and made him in reality a prisoner. They informed the English parliament of this unexpected incident, and assured them, that they had entered

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5th May.

King goes
to the Scotch
camp at
Newark.

⁵⁵ Rush. vol. vii. p. 267.

⁵⁶ Whitlocke, p. 109.

C H A P. into no private treaty with the king. They
 LVIII. applied to him for orders to Bellasis, governor
 1646. of Newark, to surrender that town, now reduced
 to extremity; and the orders were instantly
 obeyed. And hearing, that the parliament laid
 claim to the entire disposal of the king's person,
 and that the English army was making some
 motions towards them; they thought proper to
 retire northwards, and to fix their camp at
 Newcastle⁵⁷.

THIS measure was very grateful to the king;
 and he began to entertain hopes of protection
 from the Scots. He was particularly attentive to
 the behaviour of their preachers, on whom all
 depended. It was the mode of that age to make
 the pulpit the scene of news; and on every great
 event the whole scripture was ransacked by the
 clergy, for passages applicable to the present
 occasion. The first minister who preached before
 the king, chose these words for his text. " And
 " behold all the men of Israel came to the king,
 " and said unto him, Why have our brethren
 " the men of Judah, stolen thee away, and have
 " brought the king and his household, and all
 " David's men with him, over Jordan? And all
 " the men of Judah answered the men of Israel,
 " Because the king is near of kin to us; where-
 " fore then be ye angry for this matter? Have
 " we eaten at all of the king's cost? or hath
 " he given us any gift? And the men of Israel

⁵⁷ Rush, vol. vii. p. 271. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 23.

“ answered the men of Judah, and said, We C H A P.
 “ have ten parts in the king, and we have also LVIII.
 “ more right in David than ye: Why then did 1646.
 “ ye despise us; that our advice should not be
 “ first had in bringing back our king? And the
 “ words of the men of Judah were fiercer than
 “ the words of the men of Israel ⁵⁸. ” But the king
 soon found, that the happiness chiefly of the
 allusion had tempted the preacher to employ this
 text, and that the covenanting zealots were no
 wise pacified towards him. Another preacher,
 after reproaching him to his face, with his
 misgovernment, ordered this psalm to be sung;

*Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself
 Thy wicked deeds to praise:*

The king stood up, and called for that psalm
 which begins with these words,

*Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray;
 For men would me devour:*

The good-natured audience, in pity to fallen
 majesty, showed, for once, greater deference to
 the king than to the minister, and sung the psalm,
 which the former had called for ⁵⁹.

CHARLES had very little reason to be pleased
 with his situation. He not only found himself a
 prisoner, very strictly guarded: All his friends
 were kept at a distance; and no intercourse,
 either by letters or conversation, was allowed

⁵⁸ 2 Sam. chap. xix. 41, 42, and 43 verses. See Clarendon,
 vol. v. p. 23, 24. ⁵⁹ Whitlocke, p. 234.

C H A P. him with any one, on whom he could depend,
 LVIII. or who was suspected of any attachment towards
 1646. him. The Scottish generals would enter into no
 confidence with him; and still treated him with
 distant ceremony and feigned respect. And every
 propofal, which they made him, tended farther
 to his abasement and to his ruin⁶⁶.

THEY required him to issue orders to Oxford,
 and all his other garrisons, commanding their
 furrender to the parliament: And the king,
 fenfible that their resistance was to very little
 purpose, willingly complied. The terms, given
 to most of them, were honorable; and Fairfax,
 as far as it lay in his power, was very exact in
 observing them. Far from allowing violence, he
 would not even permit insults or triumph over
 the unfortunate royalists; and by his generous
 humanity, so cruel a civil war was ended, in
 appearance, very calmly, between the parties.

ORMOND having received like orders, delivered
 Dublin, and other forts, into the hands of the
 parliamentary officers. Montrose also, after
 having experienced still more variety of good
 and bad fortune, threw down his arms, and re-
 tired out of the kingdom.

THE marquis of Worcester, a man past eighty-
 four was the last in England that submitted to
 the authority of the parliament. He defended
 Raglan castle to extremity; and opened not its
 gates till the middle of August. Four years, a
 few days excepted, were now elapsed, since the

⁶⁶ Clarendon, vol. v. p. 30.

king first erected his standard at Nottingham⁶¹. So long had the British nations, by civil and religious quarrels, been occupied in shedding their own blood, and laying waste their native country.

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1646.

THE parliament and the Scots laid their proposals before the king. They were such as a captive, entirely at mercy, could expect from the most inexorable victor : Yet were they little worse than what were insisted on before the battle of Naseby. The power of the sword, instead of ten, which the king now offered, was demanded for twenty years, together with a right to levy whatever money the parliament should think proper for the support of their armies. The other conditions were, in the main, the same with those which had formerly been offered to the king⁶².

CHARLES said, that proposals, which introduced such important innovations in the constitution, demanded time for deliberation : The commissioners replied, that he must give his answer in ten days⁶³. He desired to reason about the meaning and import of some terms : They informed him, that they had no power of debate; and peremptorily required his consent or refusal. He requested a personal treaty with the parliament : They threatened, that, if he delayed compliance, the parliament would, by their own authority, settle the nation.

⁶¹ Rush. vol. vi. p. 293.

⁶² Ibid. p. 309.

⁶³ Ibid. vol. vii. p. 319.

C H A P. WHAT the parliament was most intent upon,
 LVIII. was not their treaty with the king, to whom
 1646. they paid little regard ; but that with the Scots.
 Two important points remained to be settled
 with that nation ; their delivery of the king, and
 the estimation of their arrears.

THE Scots might pretend, that, as Charles was king of Scotland as well as of England, they were entitled to an equal vote in the disposal of his person : And that, in such a case, where the titles are equal, and the subject indivisible, the preference was due to the present possessor. The English maintained, that the king, being in England, was comprehended within the jurisdiction of that kingdom, and could not be disposed of by any foreign nation. A delicate question this, and what surely could not be decided by precedent ; since such a situation is not, any where, to be found in history⁶⁴.

As the Scots concurred with the English, in imposing such severe conditions on the king, that, notwithstanding his unfortunate situation, he still refused to accept of them ; it is certain, that they did not desire his freedom : Nor could they ever intend to join lenity and rigor together, in so inconsistent a manner. Before the settlement of terms, the administration must be possessed entirely by the parliaments of both kingdoms ; and how incompatible that scheme with the liberty of the king, is easily imagined. To carry him

⁶⁴ Rush. vol. vii. p. 339.

a prisoner into Scotland, where few forces could be supported to guard him, was a measure so full of inconvenience and danger, that, even if the English had consented to it, it must have appeared to the Scots themselves altogether uneligible: And how could such a plan be supported in opposition to England, possessed of such numerous and victorious armies, which were, at that time, at least, seemed to be, in entire union with the parliament? The only expedient, it is obvious, which the Scots could embrace, if they scrupled wholly to abandon the king, was immediately to return, fully and cordially, to their allegiance; and, uniting themselves with the royalists in both kingdoms, endeavour, by force of arms, to reduce the English parliament to more moderate conditions: But besides that this measure was full of extreme hazard; what was it but instantly to combine with their old enemies against their old friends; and in a fit of romantic generosity, overturn what, with so much expense of blood and treasure, they had, during the course of so many years, been so carefully erecting?

BUT, though all these reflections occurred to the Scottish commissioners, they resolved to prolong the dispute, and to keep the king as a pledge for those arrears, which they claimed from England, and which they were not likely, in the present disposition of that nation, to obtain by any other expedient. The sum, by their account, amounted to near two millions: For

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CHAPTER. they had received little regular pay, since they
 LVIII. had entered England. And though the contri-
 1646. butions, which they had levied, as well as the
 price of their living at free quarters, must be
 deducted; yet still the sum, which they insisted
 on, was very considerable. After many discus-
 sions, it was, at last, agreed, that, in lieu of
 all demands, they should accept of 400,000 pounds,
 one half to be paid instantly, another in two
 subsequent payments⁶⁵.

GREAT pains were taken by the Scots (and
 the English complied with their pretended deli-
 cacy) to make this estimation and payment of
 arrears appear a quite different transaction from
 that for the delivery of the king's person: But
 common sense requires, that they should be re-
 garded as one and the same. The English, it is
 evident, had they not been previously assured of
 receiving the king, would never have parted
 with so considerable a sum; and, while they
 weakened themselves, by the same measure have
 strengthened a people, with whom they must
 afterwards have so material an interest to discuss.

THUS the Scottish nation underwent, and still
 undergo (for such grievous stains are not easily
 wiped off) the reproach of selling their king,
 and betraying their prince for money. In vain,
 did they maintain, that this money was, on ac-
 count of former services, undoubtedly their
 due; that in their present situation, no other

⁶⁵ Rush. vol. vii. p. 326. Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 236.
 measure,

measure, without the utmost indiscretion, or even their apparent ruin, could be embraced; and that, though they delivered their king into the hands of his open enemies, they were themselves as much his open enemies as those to whom they surrendered him, and their common hatred against him had long united the two parties in strict alliance with each other. They were still answered, that they made use of this scandalous expedient for obtaining their wages; and that, after taking arms, without any provocation, against their sovereign, who had ever loved and cherished them, they had deservedly fallen into a situation, from which they could not extricate themselves, without either infamy or imprudence.

THE infamy of this bargain had such an influence on the Scottish parliament, that they once voted, that the king should be protected, and his liberty insisted on. But the general assembly interposed, and pronounced, that, as he had refused to take the covenant, which was pressed on him, it became not the godly to concern themselves about his fortunes. After this declaration, it behoved the parliament to retract their vote⁶⁶.

INTELLIGENCE concerning the final resolution of the Scottish nation to surrender him, was brought to the king; and he happened, at that very time, to be playing at chess⁶⁷. Such com-

⁶⁶ Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 243, 244.

⁶⁷ Burnet's Memoirs of the Hamiltons.

C H A P. LVIII. mand of temper did he possess, that he continued his game without interruption ; and none of the by-standers could perceive, that the letter, which he perused, had brought him news of any consequence. The English commissioners, who, some days after, came to take him under their custody, were admitted to kiss his hands ; and he received them with the same grace and chearfulness, as if they had travelled on no other errand, than to pay court to him. The old earl of Pembroke in particular, who was one of them, he congratulated on his strength and vigor, that he was still able, during such a season, to perform so long a journey, in company with so many young people.

1647.
King delivered up
by the Scots. THE king, being delivered over by the Scots to the English commissioners, was conducted, under a guard, to Holdenby, in the county of Northampton. On his journey, the whole country flocked to behold him, moved partly by curiosity, partly by compassion and affection. If any still retained rancor against him, in his present condition, they passed in silence ; while his well-wishers, more generous than prudent, accompanied his march with tears, with acclamations, and with prayers for his safety⁶⁸. That ancient superstition likewise, of desiring the king's touch in scrophulous distempers, seemed to acquire fresh credit among the people, from the general

⁶⁸ Ludlow, Herbert.

tendernefs, which began to prevail for this virtuous and unhappy monarch. C H A P.

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THE commissioners rendered his confinement at Holdenby very rigorous; difmiffing his ancient fervants, debarring him from vifits, and cutting off all communication with his friends or family. The parliament, though earnestly applied to by the king, refused to allow his chaplains to attend him; becaufe they had not taken the covenant. The king refused to affift at the fervice, exercifed according to the directory; becaufe he had not, as yet, given his confent to that mode of worfhip⁶⁹. Such religious zeal prevailed on both fides! And fuch was the unhappy and diftracted condition, to which it had reduced king and people!

DURING the time, that the king remained in the Scottifh army at Newcastle, died the earl of Effex, the difcarded, but ftill powerful and popular general of the parliament. His death, in this conjuncture, was a public misfortune. Fully fenfible of the exceffes, to which affairs had been carried, and of the worfe confequences, which were ftill to be apprehended; he had refolved to conciliate a peace, and to remedy, as far as poffible, all thofe ills, to which, from miftake, rather than any bad intentions, he had himfelf fo much contributed. The prefbyterian, or the moderate party among the commons, found

⁶⁹ Clarendon, vol. v. p. 39. Warwick, p. 298.

C H A P. themselves considerably weakened by his death :
 LVIII. And the small remains of authority, which still
 1647. adhered to the house of peers, were, in a manner,
 wholly extinguished ^{7°}.

^{7°} Clarendon, vol. v. p. 43.

C H A P. LIX.

*Mutiny of the army — The king seized by Joyce —
The army march against the parliament — The army
subdue the parliament — The king flies to the isle of
Wight — Second civil war — Invasion from Scotland
— The treaty of Newport — The civil war and in-
vasion repressed — The king seized again by the army
— The house purged — The king's trial — And
execution — And character.*

THE dominion of the parliament was of short C H A P.
duration. No sooner had they subdued their LIX.
sovereign, than their own servants rose against 1647.
them, and tumbled them from their slippery
throne. The sacred boundaries of the laws being
once violated, nothing remained to confine the
wild projects of zeal and ambition. And every
successive revolution became a precedent for that
which followed it.

IN proportion as the terror of the king's power
diminished, the division between independent
and presbyterian became every day more apparent;
and the neutrals found it, at last, requisite to seek
shelter in one or the other faction. Many new
writs were issued for elections, in the room of
members, who had died, or were disqualified by
adhering to the king; yet still the presbyterians
retained the superiority among the commons:

C H A P. And all the peers, except Lord Say, were
 LIX. esteemed of that party. The independents, to
 1647. whom the inferior sectaries adhered, predominated
 in the army: and the troops of the new model
 were universally infected with that enthusiastic
 spirit. To their assistance did the independent
 party, among the commons, chiefly trust, in their
 projects for acquiring the ascendant over their
 antagonists.

SOON after the retreat of the Scots, the presby-
 terians, seeing every thing reduced to obedience,
 began to talk of diminishing the army: And, on
 pretence of easing the public burthens, they
 levelled a deadly blow at the opposite faction.
 They purposed to embark a strong detachment,
 under Skippon and Massey, for the service of
 Ireland: They openly declared their intention of
 making a great reduction of the remainder ¹. It
 was even imagined, that another new model of
 the army was projected, in order to regain to the
 presbyterians, that superiority, which they had
 so imprudently lost by the former ².

THE army had small inclination to the service
 of Ireland; a country barbarous, uncultivated,
 and laid waste by massacres, and civil commotions:
 They had less inclination to disband, and to
 renounce that pay, which having earned it
 through fatigues and dangers, they now pur-

¹ Fourteen thousand men were only intended to be
 kept up; 6000 horse, 6000 foot, and 2000 dragoons.
 Bates.

² Rush. vol. vii. p. 564.

posed to enjoy in ease and tranquillity. And most of the officers, having risen from the dregs of the people, had no other prospect, if deprived of their commission, than that of returning to languish in their native poverty and obscurity.

THESE motives of interest acquired additional influence, and became more dangerous to the parliament, from the religious spirit, by which the army was universally actuated. Among the generality of men, educated in regular, civilized societies, the sentiments of shame, duty, honor, have considerable authority, and serve to counterbalance and direct the motives, derived from private advantage: But, by the predominancy of enthusiasm among the parliamentary forces, these salutary principles lost their credit, and were regarded as mere human inventions, yea moral institutions, fitter for heathens than for christians³. The saint, resigned over to superior guidance, was at full liberty to gratify all his appetites, disguised under the appearance of pious zeal. And, besides the strange corruptions engendered by this spirit, it eluded and loosened all the ties of morality, and gave entire scope, and even sanction, to the selfishness and ambition, which naturally adhere to the human mind.

THE military confessors were farther encouraged in disobedience to superiors, by that spiritual pride, to which a mistaken piety is so subject. They were not, they said, mere janizaries;

³ Rush. vol. vi. p. 134.

C H A P. mercenary troops enlisted for hire, and to be
 LIX. disposed of at the will of their paymasters *.
 1647. Religion and liberty were the motives, which
 had excited them to arms; and they had a superior
 right to see those blessings, which they had pur-
 chased with their blood, ensured to future
 generations. By the same title, that the presby-
 terians, in contradistinction to the royalists, had
 appropriated to themselves the epithet of *godly*,
 or the *well-affected* †; the independents did now,
 in contradistinction to the presbyterians, assume
 this magnificent appellation, and arrogate all the
 ascendant, which naturally belongs to it.

HEARING of parties in the house of commons,
 and being informed, that the minority were
 friends to the army, the majority enemies; the
 troops naturally interested themselves in that
 dangerous distinction, and were eager to give
 the superiority to their partisans. Whatever
 hardships they underwent, though perhaps derived
 from inevitable necessity, were ascribed to a
 settled design of oppressing them, and resented as
 an effect of the animosity and malice of their
 adversaries.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great revenue, which
 accrued from taxes, assessments, sequestrations,
 and compositions, considerable arrears were due
 to the army; and many of the private men, as
 well as officers, had near a twelvemonth's pay
 still owing them. The army suspected, that this

* Rush. vol. vii. p. 565.

† Ibid. vol. vii. p. 474.

deficiency was purposely contrived in order to oblige them to live at free quarters; and, by rendering them odious to the country, serve as a pretence for disbanding them. When they saw such members, as were employed in committees and civil offices, accumulate fortunes, they accused them of rapine and public plunder. And, as no plan was pointed out by the commons for the payment of arrears, the soldiers dreaded, that, after they should be disbanded or embarked for Ireland, their enemies, who predominated in the two houses, would entirely defraud them of their right, and oppress them with impunity.

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ON this ground or pretence did the first commotions begin in the army. A petition, addressed to Fairfax the general, was handed about; craving an indemnity, and that ratified by the king, for any illegal actions, of which, during the course of the war, the soldiers might have been guilty; together with satisfaction in arrears, freedom from pressing, relief of widows and maimed soldiers, and pay till disbanded*. The commons, aware of what combustible materials the army was composed, were alarmed at this intelligence. Such a combination, they knew, if not checked in its first appearance, must be attended with the most dangerous consequences, and must soon exalt the military above the civil authority. Besides summoning some officers to answer for this attempt, they immediately voted, that the

Mutiny of
the army.

March 30.

* Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 342.

C H A P. petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, and to obstruct the relief of Ireland; and they threatened to proceed against the promoters of it, as enemies to the state, and disturbers of public peace⁷. This declaration, which may be deemed violent, especially as the army had some ground for complaint, produced fatal effects. The soldiers lamented, that they were deprived of the privileges of Englishmen; that they were not allowed so much as to represent their grievances; that, while petitions from Essex and other places were openly encouraged against the army, their mouths were stopped; and that they, who were the authors of liberty to the nation, were reduced, by a faction in parliament, to the most grievous servitude.

IN this disposition was the army found by Warwick, Dacres, Massey, and other commissioners; who were sent to make them proposals for entering into the service of Ireland⁸. Instead of enlisting, the generality objected to the terms; demanded an indemnity; were clamorous for their arrears: And, though they expressed no dissatisfaction against Skippon, who was appointed commander, they discovered much stronger inclination to serve under Fairfax and Cromwel⁹. Some officers, who were of the presbyterian

⁷ Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 344.

⁸ Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 457.

⁹ Ibid. vol. vii. p. 458.

party, having entered into engagements for this service, could prevail on very few of the soldiers to enlist under them. And, as these officers lay all under the grievous reproach of deserting the army, and betraying the interests of their companions; the rest were farther confirmed in that confederacy, which they had secretly formed ¹⁰.

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To petition and remonstrate being the most cautious method of conducting a confederacy, an application to parliament was signed by near 200 officers; in which they made their apology with a very imperious air, asserted their right of petitioning, and complained of that imputation thrown upon them by the former declaration of the lower house ¹¹. The private men likewise of some regiments sent a letter to Skippon; in which, together with insisting on the same topics, they lament, that designs were formed against them and many of the godly party in the kingdom; and declare, that they could not engage for Ireland, till they were satisfied in their expectations, and had their just desires granted ¹². The army, in a word, felt their power, and resolved to be masters.

THE parliament too resolved, if possible, to preserve their dominion; but being destitute of power, and not retaining much authority, it was not easy for them to employ any expedient,

¹⁰ Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 461. § 56.

¹¹ Ibid. vol. vii. p. 468.

¹² Idem, ibid. p. 474.

C H A P. which could contribute to their purpose. The
 LIX. expedient, which they now made use of, was the
 1647. worst imaginable. They sent Skippon, Crom-
 7th May. wel, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to the head-quarters
 at Saffron-Weldon in Essex; and empowered
 them to make offers to the army, and inquire
 into the cause of its *distempers*. These very generals,
 at least the three last, were secretly the authors
 of all the discontents; and failed not to foment
 those disorders, which they pretended to appease.
 By their suggestion, a measure was embraced,
 which, at once, brought matters to extremity,
 and rendered the mutiny incurable.

IN opposition to the parliament at Westminster,
 a military parliament was formed. Together with
 a council of the principal officers, which was
 appointed after the model of the house of peers;
 a more free representative of the army was com-
 posed, by the election of two private men or
 inferior officers, under the title of agitators, from
 each troop or company¹³. By this means, both
 the general humor of that time was gratified,
 intent on plans of imaginary republics; and an
 easy method contrived for conducting underhand,
 and propagating the sedition of the army.

THIS terrible court, when assembled; having
 first declared, that they found no *distempers* in the
 army, but many *grievances*, under which it la-
 bored; immediately voted the offers of the par-
 liament unsatisfactory. Eight weeks' pay alone,

¹³ Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 485. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 43.

they said, was promised; a small part of fifty-six weeks, which they claimed as their due: No visible security was given for the remainder: And having been declared public enemies by the commons, they might hereafter be prosecuted as such, unless the declaration were recalled²⁴. Before matters came to this height, Cromwel had posted up to London, on pretence of laying before the parliament the rising discontents of the army.

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THE parliament made one vigorous effort more, to try the force of their authority: They voted, that all the troops, which did not engage for Ireland, should instantly be disbanded in their quarters²⁵. At the same time, the council of the army ordered a general rendez-vous of all the regiments, in order to provide for their common interests. And while they thus prepared themselves for opposition to the parliament, they struck a blow, which at once decided the victory in their favor.

A PARTY of five hundred horse appeared at Holdenby, conducted by one Joyce, who had once been a taylor by profession; but was now advanced to the rank of cornet, and was an active agitator in the army. Without being opposed by the guard, whose affections were all on their side; Joyce came into the king's presence, armed with pistols, and told him, that he must

3d June.
The king
seized by
Joyce.

²⁴ Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 427. 505. Whitlocke, p. 250.

²⁵ Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 487.

C H A P. immediately go along with him. *Whither?* said the king. *To the army*; replied Joyce. *By what warrant?* asked the king. Joyce pointed to the soldiers, whom he brought along; tall, handsome, and well accoutred. *Your warrant*, said Charles smiling, *is writ in fair characters, legible without spelling*¹⁶. The parliamentary commissioners came into the room: They asked Joyce, whether he had any orders from the parliament? He said, *No*: From the general? *No*: By what authority he came? He made the same reply as to the king: *They would write*, they said, *to the parliament to know their pleasure*. *You may do so*, replied Joyce; *but in the mean time the king must immediately go with me*. Resistance was vain. The king, after protracting the time as long as he could, went into his coach; and was safely conducted to the army, who were hastening to their rendez-vous at Triplo-Heath near Cambridge. The parliament informed of this event by their commissioners, were thrown into the utmost consternation¹⁷.

FAIRFAX himself was no less surprised at the king's arrival. That bold measure, executed by Joyce, had never been communicated to the general. The orders were entirely verbal; and no body avowed them. And, while every one affected astonishment at the enterprize, Cromwel, by whose counsel it had been directed, arrived from London, and put an end to their deliberations.

¹⁶ Whitlocke, p. 54. Warwick, p. 299.

¹⁷ Rush. vol. vii. p. 514, 515. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 47.

THIS artful and audacious conspirator had conducted himself in the parliament with such profound dissimulation, with such refined hypocrisy, that he had long deceived those, who, being themselves very dextrous practitioners in the same arts, should naturally have entertained the more suspicion against others. At every intelligence of disorders in the army, he was moved to the highest pitch of grief and of anger. He wept bitterly: He lamented the misfortunes of his country: He advised every violent measure for suppressing the mutiny; and by these precipitate counsels, at once seemed to evince his own sincerity, and inflamed those discontents, of which he intended to make advantage. He obtested heaven and earth, that his devoted attachment to the parliament had rendered him so odious in the army, that his life, while among them, was in the utmost danger; and he had very narrowly escaped a conspiracy, formed to assassinate him. But information being brought, that the most active officers and agitators were entirely his creatures, the parliamentary leaders secretly resolved, that, next day, when he should come to the house, an accusation should be entered against him, and he should be sent to the Tower¹⁸. Cromwel, who, in the conduct of his desperate enterprizes, frequently approached to the very brink of destruction, knew how to make the requisite turn with proper dexterity and boldness.

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¹⁸ Clarendon, vol. v. p. 46.

C H A P. Being informed of this design, he hastened to the
 LIX. camp; where he was received with acclamations,
 1647. and was instantly invested with the supreme
 command both of general and army.

FAIRFAX, having neither talents himself for cabal, nor penetration to discover the cabals of others, had given his entire confidence to Cromwel; who, by the best colored pretences, and by the appearance of an open sincerity and a scrupulous conscience, imposed on the easy nature of this brave and virtuous man. The council of officers and the agitators were moved altogether by Cromwel's direction, and conveyed his will to the whole army. By his profound and artful conduct, he had now attained a situation, where he could cover his enterprizes from public view; and seeming either to obey the commands of his superior officer, or yield to the movements of the soldiers, could secretly pave the way for his future greatness. While the disorders of the army were yet in their infancy, he kept at a distance; lest his counterfeit aversion might throw a damp upon them, or his secret encouragement beget suspicion in the parliament. As soon as they came to maturity, he openly joined the troops; and in the critical moment, struck that important blow of seizing the king's person, and depriving the parliament of any resource of an accommodation with him. Though one vizor fell off, another still remained, to cover his natural countenance. Where delay was requisite, he could employ the most indefatigable patience: Where celerity

celerity was necessary, he flew to a decision. And by thus uniting in his person the most opposite talents, he was enabled to combine the most contrary interests in a subserviency to his secret purposes.

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THE parliament, though at present defenceless, was possessed of many resources; and time might easily enable them to resist that violence, with which they were threatened. Without farther deliberation, therefore, Cromwel advanced the army upon them, and arrived in a few days at St. Albans.

The army
march
against the
parliament.

NOTHING could be more popular, than this hostility, which the army commenced against the parliament. As much as that assembly was once the idol of the nation, as much was it now become the object of general hatred and aversion.

THE self-denying ordinance had no longer been put in execution, than till Essex, Manchester, Waller, and the other officers of that party, had resigned their commission: Immediately after, it was laid aside by tacit consent; and the members, sharing all offices of power and profit among them, proceeded with impunity in exercising acts of oppression on the helpless nation. Though the necessity of their situation might serve as an apology for many of their measures, the people, not accustomed to such a species of government, were not disposed to make the requisite allowances.

A SMALL supply of 100,000 pounds a year could never be obtained by former kings from

E H A P. the jealous humor of parliaments; and the Eng-
 LIX. lish, of all nations in Europe, were the least
 1647. accustomed to taxes: But this parliament, from
 the commencement of the war, according to
 some computations, had levied, in five years,
 above forty millions ¹⁹; yet were loaded with
 debts and incumbrances, which, during that age,
 were regarded as prodigious. If these computa-
 tions should be thought much exaggerated, as
 they probably are ²⁰, the taxes and impositions
 were certainly far higher than in any former state
 of the English government; and such popular ex-
 aggerations are, at least, a proof of popular dis-
 contents.

BUT the disposal of this money was no less the
 object of general complaint against the parliament
 than the levying of it. The sum of 300,000 pounds
 they openly took, 'tis affirmed ²¹, and divided
 among their own members. The committees,
 to whom the management of the different branch-
 es of revenue was intrusted, never brought in
 their accounts, and had unlimited power of

¹⁹ Clement Walker's history of the two Juntos, prefixed
 to his history of independence, p. 8. This is an author of
 spirit and ingenuity; and being a zealous parliamentarian,
 his authority is very considerable, notwithstanding the air
 of satire, which prevails in his writings. This computation,
 however, seems much too large; especially as the seques-
 trations, during the time of war, could not be so con-
 siderable as afterwards.

²⁰ Yet the same sum precisely is assigned in another
 book, called Royal Treasury of England, p. 297.

²¹ Clement Walker's history of independence, p. 3. 166.

secreting whatever sums they pleased from the public treasure ²². These branches were needlessly multiplied, in order to render the revenue more intricate, to share the advantages among greater numbers, and to conceal the frauds, of which they were universally suspected ²³.

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THE method of keeping accounts, practised in the exchequer, was confessedly the exactest, the most ancient, the best known, and the least liable to fraud. The exchequer was, for that reason, abolished, and the revenue put under the management of a committee, who were subject to no controul ²⁴.

THE excise was an odious tax, formerly unknown to the nation; and was now extended over provisions, and the common necessaries of life. Near one half of the goods and chattels, and at least one half of the lands, rents, and revenues of the kingdom, had been sequestered. To great numbers of royalists, all redress from these sequestrations was refused: To the rest, the remedy could be obtained only by paying large compositions and subscribing the covenant, which they abhorred. Besides pitying the ruin and desolation of so many ancient and honorable families; indifferent spectators could not but blame the hardship of punishing with such severity, actions, which the law, in its usual and most undisputed interpretation, strictly required of every subject.

²² Ibid. p. 8. ²³ Idem, ibid. ²⁴ Clement Walker's history of independence, p. 8.

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THE severities too, exercised against the episcopal clergy, naturally affected the royalists, and even all men of candor, in a sensible manner. By the most moderate computation²⁵, it appears, that above one half of the established clergy had been turned out to beggary and want, for no other crime than their adhering to the civil and religious principles, in which they had been educated; and for their attachment to those laws, under whose countenance they had at first embraced that profession. To renounce episcopacy and the liturgy, and to subscribe the covenant, were the only terms, which could save them from so rigorous a fate; and if the least mark of malignancy, as it was called, or affection to the king, who so entirely loved them, had ever escaped their lips, even this hard choice was not permitted. The sacred character, which gives the priesthood such authority over mankind, becoming more venerable from the sufferings, endured, for the sake of principle, by these distressed royalists, aggravated the general indignation against their persecutors.

BUT what excited the most universal complaint was, the unlimited tyranny and despotic rule of the country-committees. During the war, the

²⁵ See John Walker's attempt towards recovering an account of the numbers and sufferings of the clergy. The parliament pretended to leave the sequestered clergy a fifth of their revenue; but this author makes it sufficiently appear, that this provision, small as it is, was never regularly paid the ejected clergy.

discretionary power of these courts was excused, from the plea of necessity: But the nation was reduced to despair, when it saw neither end put to their duration, nor bounds to their authority. These could sequester, fine, imprison, and corporally punish, without law or remedy. They interposed in questions of private property. Under color of malignancy, they exercised vengeance against their private enemies. To the obnoxious, and sometimes to the innocent, they sold their protection. And instead of one star-chamber, which had been abolished, a great number were a-new erected, fortified with better pretences, and armed with more unlimited authority²⁶.

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COULD any thing have increased the indignation against that slavery, into which the nation, from the too eager pursuit of liberty, had fallen; it must have been the reflection on the pretences, by which the people had so long been deluded. The sanctified hypocrites, who called their oppressions the spoiling of the Egyptians, and their rigid severity the dominion of the Elect, interlarded all their iniquities with long and fervent prayers, saved themselves from blushing by their

²⁶ Clement Walker's history of independence, p. 5. Hollis gives the same representation, as Walker, of the plundering, oppressions, and tyranny of the parliament: Only, instead of laying the fault on both parties, as Walker does, he ascribes it solely to the independent faction. The presbyterians indeed, being commonly denominated the *moderate* party, would probably be more inoffensive. See Rush. vol. vii. p. 598, and Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 230.

C H A P. pious grimaces, and exercised, in the name of
 LIX. the Lord, all their cruelty on men. An undis-
 1647. guised violence could be forgiven: But such a
 mockery of the understanding, such an abuse of
 religion, were, with men of penetration, objects
 of peculiar resentment.

THE parliament, conscious of their decay in popularity, seeing a formidable armed force advance upon them, were reduced to despair, and found all their resources much inferior to the present necessity. London still retained a strong attachment to presbyterianism; and its militia, which was numerous, and had acquired reputation in the wars, had, by a late ordinance, been put into hands, in whom the parliament could entirely confide. This militia was now called out, and ordered to guard the lines, which had been drawn round the city, in order to secure it against the king. A body of horse was ordered to be instantly levied. Many officers, who had been cashiered by the new model of the army, offered their service to the parliament. An army of 5,000 men lay in the north under the command of general Pointz, who was of the presbyterian faction; but these were too distant to be employed in so urgent a necessity. The forces, destined for Ireland, were quartered in the west; and, though deemed faithful to the parliament, they also lay at a distance. Many inland garrisons were commanded by officers of the same party; but their troops, being so much dispersed, could, at present, be of no manner of service. The

Scots were faithful friends and zealous for presby- C H A P.
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tery and the covenant; but a long time was
required, ere they could collect their forces, and
march to the assistance of the parliament.

IN this situation it was thought more prudent 8th June.
to submit, and by compliance to stop the fury
of the enraged army. The declaration, by which
the military petitioners had been voted public
enemies, was recalled, and erased from the
journal-book²⁷. This was the first symptom,
which the parliament gave of submission; and the
army, hoping, by terror alone, to effect all their
purposes, stopped at St. Albans, and entered into
negociation with their masters.

HERE commenced the encroachments of the
military upon the civil authority. The army, in
their usurpations on the parliament, copied exactly
the model, which the parliament itself had set
them, in their recent usurpations on the crown.

EVERY day, they rose in their demands. If
one claim was granted, they had another ready,
still more enormous and exorbitant; and were de-
termined never to be satisfied. At first, they
pretended only to petition for what concerned
themselves as soldiers: Next, they must have a
vindication of their character: Then, it was ne-
cessary, that their enemies be punished²⁸: At
last, they claimed a right of modelling the whole
government, and settling the nation²⁹.

²⁷ Rush. vol. vii. p. 503. 547. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 45.

²⁸ Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 509.

²⁹ Ibid. vol. vii. p. 567. 633. Ibid. vol. viii. p. 731.

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THEY preserved, in words, all deference and respect to the parliament; but in reality, insulted them and tyrannized over them. That assembly, they pretended not to accuse: It was only evil counsellors, who seduced and betrayed it.

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THEY proceeded, so far as to name eleven members, whom, in general terms, they charged with high treason, as enemies to the army and evil counsellors to the parliament. Their names were Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Mafsey, Glyn, Long, Harley, and Nichols³⁰. These were the very leaders of the presbyterian party.

THEY insisted, that these members should immediately be sequestered from parliament, and be thrown into prison³¹. The commons replied, that they could not, upon a general charge, proceed so far³². The army observed to them, that the cases of Strafford and Laud were direct precedents for that purpose³³. At last, the eleven members themselves, not to give occasion for discord, begged leave to retire from the house; and the army, for the present, seemed satisfied with this mark of submission³⁴.

PRETENDING, that the parliament intended to levy war upon them, and to involve the nation again in blood and confusion, they required,

³⁰ Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 570.³¹ Ibid. p. 572.³² Ibid. vol. vii. p. 592. ³³ Ibid. p. 594. Whitlocke, p. 259.³⁴ Rush. vol. vii. p. 593, 594.

that all new levies should be stopped. The parliament complied with this demand ³⁵.

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THERE being no signs of resistance, the army, in order to save appearances, removed, at the desire of the parliament, to a greater distance from London, and fixed their head quarters at Reading. They carried the king along with them in all their marches.

THAT prince now found himself in a better situation than at Holdenby, and had attained some greater degree of freedom, as well as of consideration with both parties.

ALL his friends had access to his presence: His correspondence with the queen was not interrupted: His chaplains were restored to him, and he was allowed the use of the liturgy: His children were once allowed to visit him, and they passed a few days at Caversham, where he then resided ³⁶. He had not seen the duke of Gloucester, his youngest son, and the princess Elizabeth, since he left London, at the commencement of the civil disorders ³⁷; nor the duke of York, since he went to the Scottish army before Newark. No private man, unacquainted with the pleasures of a court, and the tumult of a camp, more passionately loved his family, than

³⁵ Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 572. 574.

³⁶ Clarendon, vol. i. p. 51, 52. 57.

³⁷ When the king applied to have his children, the parliament always told him, that they could take as much care at London, both of their bodies and souls, as could be done at Oxford. Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 127.

C H A P. did this good prince; and such an instance of
 LIX. indulgence in the army was extremely grateful to
 1647. him. Cromwel, who was witness to the meeting
 of the royal family, confessed, that he never had
 been present at so tender a scene; and he ex-
 tremely applauded the benignity, which displayed
 itself in the whole disposition and behaviour of
 Charles.

THAT artful politician, as well as the leaders
 of all parties, payed court to the king; and for-
 tune, notwithstanding all his calamities, seemed
 again to smile upon him. The parliament, afraid
 of his forming some accommodation with the
 army, addressed him in a more respectful style
 than formerly; and invited him to reside at
 Richmond, and contribute his assistance to the
 settlement of the nation. The chief officers
 treated him with regard, and spake on all occa-
 sions of restoring him to his just powers and pre-
 rogatives. In the public declarations of the army,
 the settlement of his revenue and authority was
 insisted on³³. The royalists, every where, enter-
 tained hopes of the restoration of monarchy;
 and the favor, which they universally bore to
 the army, contributed very much to discourage
 the parliament, and to forward their submission.

THE king began to feel of what consequence
 he was. The more the national confusions in-
 creased, the more was he confident, that all
 parties would, at length, have recourse to his

³³ Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 590.

lawful authority, as the only remedy for the public disorders. *You cannot be without me*, said he, on several occasions: *You cannot settle the nation but by my assistance*. A people without government and without liberty, a parliament without authority, an army without a legal master: Distractions every where, terrors, oppressions, convulsions: From this scene of confusion, which could not long continue, all men, he hoped, would be brought to reflect on that ancient government, under which they and their ancestors had so long enjoyed happiness and tranquillity.

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THOUGH Charles kept his ears open to all proposals, and expected to hold the balance between the opposite parties, he entertained more hopes of accommodation with the army. He had experienced the extreme rigor of the parliament. They pretended totally to annihilate his authority: They had confined his person. In both these particulars, the army showed more indulgence³⁹. He had a free intercourse with his friends. And in the proposals, which the council of officers sent for the settlement of the nation, they insisted neither on the abolition of episcopacy, nor of the punishment of the royalists; the two points to which the king had the most extreme reluctance: And they demanded, that a period should be put to the present parliament, the event for which he most ardently longed.

³⁹ Warwick, p. 303. Parl. Hist. vol. xvi. p. 40. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 50.

C H A P. His conjunction too seemed more natural with
 LIX. the generals, than with that usurping assembly,
 1647. who had so long assumed the entire sovereignty
 of the state, and who had declared their resolution still to continue masters. By gratifying a few persons with titles and preferments, he might draw over, he hoped, the whole military power, and, in an instant, reinstate himself in his civil authority. To Ireton he offered the lieutenancy of Ireland: To Cromwel, the garter, the title of earl of Essex, and the command of the army. Negotiations to this purpose were secretly conducted. Cromwel pretended to hearken to them; and was well pleased to keep the door open for an accommodation, if the course of events should, at any time, render it necessary. And the king, who had no suspicion, that one, born a private gentleman, could entertain the daring ambition of seizing a sceptre, transmitted through a long line of monarchs, indulged hopes, that he would, at last, embrace a measure, which, by all the motives of duty, interest, and safety, seemed to be recommended to him.

WHILE Cromwel allured the king by these expectations, he still continued his scheme of reducing the parliament to subjection, and depriving them of all means of resistance. To gratify the army, the parliament invested Fairfax with the title of general in chief of all the forces in England and Ireland; and intrusted the whole military authority to a person, who, though well inclined to their service, was no longer at his own disposal.

THEY voted, that the troops, which, in obedience to them, had inlisted for Ireland, and deserted the rebellious army, should be disbanded, or, in other words, be punished for their fidelity. The forces in the north, under Pointz, had already mutinied against their general, and had entered into an association with that body of the army, which was so successfully employed in exalting the military above the civil authority⁴⁰.

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THAT no resource might remain to the parliament, it was demanded, that the militia of London should be changed, the presbyterian commissioners displaced, and the command restored to those, who, during the course of the war, had constantly exercised it. The parliament even complied with so violent a demand, and passed a vote in obedience to the army⁴¹.

By this unlimited patience, they purposed to temporize under their present difficulties, and they hoped to find a more favorable opportunity for recovering their authority and influence: But the impatience of the city lost them all the advantage of their cautious measures. A petition against the alteration of the militia was carried to Westminster, attended by the apprentices and seditious multitude, who besieged the door of the house of commons; and by their clamor, noise, and violence, obliged them to reverse that vote, which they had passed so lately. When

20th July.

⁴⁰ Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 620.

⁴¹ Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 629. 632.

C H A P. gratified in this pretension, they immediately
 LIX. dispersed, and left the parliament at liberty ⁴².
 1647.

No sooner was intelligence of this tumult conveyed to Reading, than the army was put in motion. The two houses being under restraint, they were resolved, they said, to vindicate, against the seditious citizens, the invaded privileges of parliament, and restore that assembly to its just freedom of debate and counsel. In their way to London, they were drawn up on Hounslow-Heath; a formidable body, twenty thousand strong, and determined, without regard to laws or liberty, to pursue whatever measures their generals should dictate to them. Here the most favorable event happened, to quicken and encourage their advance. The speakers of the two houses, Manchester and Lenthall, attended by eight peers, and about sixty commoners, having secretly retired from the city, presented themselves with their maces, and all the ensigns of their dignity; and complaining of the violence put upon them, applied to the army for defence and protection. They were received with shouts and acclamations: Respect was paid to them as to the parliament of England: And the army being provided with so plausible a pretence, which, in all public transactions, is of great consequence, advanced to chastise the rebellious city, and to re-instate the violated parliament ⁴³.

⁴² Rush. vol. vii. p. 641. 643. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 61. Whitlocke, p. 269. Cl. Walker, p. 38.

⁴³ Rush. vol. viii. p. 750. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 63.

NEITHER Lenthal nor Manchester were esteemed independents; and such a step in them was unexpected. But they probably foresaw, that the army must, in the end, prevail; and they were willing to pay court in time to that authority, which began to predominate in the nation.

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THE parliament, forced from their temporizing measures, and obliged to resign, at once, or combat for their liberty and power, prepared themselves with vigor for defence, and determined to resist the violence of the army. The two houses immediately chose new speakers, lord Hunfdon, and Henry Pelham: They renewed their former orders for inlisting troops: They appointed Massey to be commander: They ordered the trained bands to man the lines: And the whole city was in a ferment, and resounded with military preparations **.

• WHEN any intelligence arrived that the army stopped or retreated, the shout of *One and all*, ran with alacrity, from street to street, among the citizens: When news came of their advancing, the cry of *Treat and capitulate* was no less loud and vehement *. The terror of an universal pillage, and even massacre, had seized the timid inhabitants.

As the army approached, Rainsborow, being sent by the general over the river, presented

** Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 646.

* Whitlocke, p. 265.

C H A P. himself before Southwark, and was gladly received by some foldiers, who were quartered there for its defence, and who were resolved not to separate their interests from those of the army. It behoved then the parliament to submit.

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6th Aug. The army marched in triumph through the city; but preserved the greatest order, decency, and appearance of humility. They conducted to Westminster the two speakers, who took their seats as if nothing had happened. The eleven impeached members, being accused as authors of the tumult, were expelled; and most of them retired beyond sea: Seven peers were impeached: The mayor, one sheriff, and three aldermen, sent to the Tower: Several citizens and officers of the militia committed to prison: Every deed of the parliament annulled, from the day of the tumult till the return of the speakers: The lines about the city levelled: The militia restored to the independents: Regiments quartered in Whitehall and the Meuse: And the parliament being reduced to a regular formed servitude, a day was appointed of solemn thanksgiving for the restoration of its liberty⁴⁶.

The army subdue the parliament.

THE independent party among the commons exulted in their victory. The whole authority of the nation, they imagined, was now lodged in their hands; and they had a near prospect of moulding the government into that imaginary republic, which had long been the object of

⁴⁶ Rush. vol. viii. p. 797, 798, &c.

their wishes. They had secretly concurred in all encroachments of the military upon the civil power; and they expected, by the terror of the sword, to impose a more perfect system of liberty on the reluctant nation. All parties, the king, the church, the parliament, the presbyterians, had been guilty of errors, since the commencement of these disorders: But it must be confessed, that this delusion of the independents and republicans was, of all others, the most contrary to common sense and the established maxims of policy. Yet were the leaders of that party, Vane, Fiennes, St. John, Martin, the men in England the most celebrated for profound thought and deep contrivance; and by their well-colored pretences and professions, they had over-reached the whole nation. To deceive such men would argue a superlative capacity in Cromwel; were it not, that, besides the great difference there is between dark, crooked councils and true wisdom, an exorbitant passion for rule and authority will make the most prudent overlook the dangerous consequences of such measures as seem to tend, in any degree, to their own advancement.

THE leaders of the army, having established their dominion over the parliament and city, ventured to bring the king to Hampton-Court; and he lived, for some time, in that palace, with an appearance of dignity and freedom. Such equability of temper did he possess, that, during all the variety of fortune, which he

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underwent, no difference was perceived in his countenance or behaviour; and though a prisoner, in the hands of his most inveterate enemies, he supported, towards all who approached him, the majesty of a monarch; and that, neither with less nor greater state, than he had been accustomed to maintain. His manner, which was not in itself popular nor gracious, now appeared amiable, from its great meekness and equality.

THE parliament renewed their applications to him, and presented him with the same conditions, which they had offered at Newcastle. The king declined accepting them, and desired the parliament to take the proposals of the army into consideration, and make them the foundation of the public settlement⁴⁷. He still entertained hopes, that his negotiations with the generals would be crowned with success; though every thing, in that particular, daily bore a worse aspect. Most historians have thought, that Cromwel never was sincere in his professions; and that, having, by force, rendered himself master of the king's person, and, by fair pretences, acquired the countenance of the royalists, he had employed these advantages to the enslaving of the parliament: And afterwards thought of nothing but the establishment of his own unlimited authority, with which he esteemed the restoration, and even life of the king, altogether incompatible. This opinion, so much warranted by the boundless ambition and profound

⁴⁷ Rush. vol. viii. p. 810.

diffimulation of his character, meets with ready belief; though it is more agreeable to the narrowness of human views, and the darkness of futurity, to suppose, that this daring usurper was guided by events, and did not, as yet, foresee, with any assurance, that unparalleled greatness, which he afterwards attained. Many writers of that age have asserted ⁴⁸, that he really intended to make a private bargain with the king; a measure, which carried the most plausible appearance both for his safety and advancement: But that he found insuperable difficulties in reconciling to it the wild humors of the army. The horror and antipathy of these fanatics had, for many years, been artfully fomented against Charles; and though their principles were, on all occasions, easily warped and eluded by private interest, yet was some coloring requisite, and a flat contradiction to all former professions and tenets could not safely be proposed to them. It is certain, at least, that Cromwel made use of this reason, why he admitted rarely of visits from the king's friends, and showed less favor than formerly to the royal cause. The agitators, he said, had rendered him odious to the army, and had represented him as a traitor, who, for the sake of private interest, was ready to betray the cause of God to the great enemy of piety and religion. Desperate projects too, he asserted to be secretly formed, for the murder of the

⁴⁸ See note [B] at the end of the volume.

CHAP. king; and he pretended much to dread lest
 LIX. all his authority, and that of the commanding
 1647. officers, would not be able to restrain these
 enthusiasts from their bloody purposes⁴⁹.

INTELLIGENCE being daily brought to the king of menaces thrown out by the agitators; he began to think of retiring from Hampton-Court, and of putting himself in some place of safety. The guards were doubled upon him: The promiscuous concourse of people restrained: A more jealous care exerted in attending his person: All, under color of protecting him from danger; but really with a view of making him uneasy in his present situation. These artifices soon produced the intended effect. Charles, who was naturally apt to be swayed by counsel, and who had not then access to any good counsel, took suddenly a resolution of withdrawing himself, though without any concerted, at least, any rational scheme, for the future disposal of his person. Attended only by Sir John Berkeley, Ashburnham, and Leg, he privately left Hampton-Court; and his escape was not discovered till near an hour after; when those, who entered his chamber, found on the table some letters directed to the parliament, to the general, and to the officer, who had attended him⁵⁰. All night, he travelled through the forest, and arrived next day at Tichfield, a seat of the earl of South-

11th Nov.

⁴⁹ Clarendon, vol. v. p. 76.

⁵⁰ Rush. vol. viii. p. 871.

ampton's, where the countess dowager resided, a woman of honor, to whom, the king knew, he might safely intrust his person. Before he arrived at this place, he had gone to the sea-coast; and expressed great anxiety, that a ship, which he seemed to look for, had not arrived; and thence, Berkeley and Leg, who were not in the secret, conjectured, that his intention was to transport himself beyond sea.

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THE king could not hope to remain long concealed at Tichfield: What measure should next be embraced, was the question. In the neighbourhood lay the isle of Wight, of which Hammond was governor. This man was entirely dependent on Cromwel. At his recommendation he had married a daughter of the famous Hampden, who, during his life-time, had been an intimate friend of Cromwel's, and whose memory was ever respected by him. These circumstances were very unfavorable: Yet because the governor was nephew to Dr. Hammond, the king's favorite chaplain, and had acquired a good character in the army, it was thought proper to have recourse to him, in the present exigence, when no other rational expedient could be thought of. Ashburnham and Berkeley were dispatched to the island. They had orders not to inform Hammond of the place, where the king was concealed, till they had first obtained a promise from him not to deliver up his majesty, though the parliament and army should require him; but to restore him to his liberty, if he

King flies to
the isle of
Wight.

C H A P. could not protect him. This promise, it is
 LIX. evident, would have been a very slender secu-
 1647. rity: Yet even without exacting it, Ashburnham,
 imprudently, if not treacherously, brought Ham-
 mond to Tichfield; and the king was obliged
 to put himself in his hands, and to attend him
 to Carisbroke-castle in the isle of Wight, where,
 though received with great demonstrations of
 respect and duty, he was in reality a prisoner.

LORD CLARENDON⁵¹ is positive, that the
 king, when he fled from Hampton-Court, had
 no intention of going to this island; and indeed
 all the circumstances of that historian's narrative,
 which we have here followed, strongly favor
 this opinion. But there remains a letter of
 Charles's to the earl of Laneric, secretary of
 Scotland; in which he plainly intimates, that that
 measure was voluntarily embraced, and even
 insinuates, that, if he had thought proper, he
 might have been in Jersey or any other place
 of safety⁵². Perhaps, he still confided in the
 promises of the generals; and flattered himself,
 that, if he were removed from the fury of the
 agitators, by which his life was immediately
 threatened, they would execute what they had
 so often promised in his favor.

WHATEVER may be the truth in this matter;
 for it is impossible fully to ascertain the truth;
 Charles never took a weaker step, nor one more

⁵¹ P. 79, 80, &c.

⁵² See note [C] at the end of the volume.

agreeable to Cromwel and all his enemies. He was now lodged in a place, removed from his partisans, at the disposal of the army, whence it would be very difficult to deliver him, either by force or artifice. And though it was always in the power of Cromwel, whenever he pleased, to have sent him thither; yet such a measure, without the king's consent, would have been very invidious, if not attended with some danger. That the king should voluntarily throw himself into the snare, and thereby gratify his implacable persecutors, was to them an incident peculiarly fortunate, and proved in the issue very fatal to him.

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CROMWEL, being now entirely master of the parliament, and free from all anxiety, with regard to the custody of the king's person, applied himself seriously to quell those disorders in the army, which he himself had so artfully raised, and so successfully employed, against both king and parliament. In order to engage the troops into a rebellion against their masters, he had encouraged an arrogant spirit among the inferior officers and private men; and the camp, in many respects, carried more the appearance of civil liberty than of military obedience. The troops themselves were formed into a kind of republic; and the plans of imaginary republics, for the settlement of the state, were, every day, the topics of conversation among these armed legislators. Royalty it was agreed to abolish: Nobility must be set aside: Even all ranks of men be

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levelled; and an universal equality of property, as well as of power, be introduced among the citizens. The saints, they said, were the salt of the earth: An entire parity had place among the elect: And, by the same rule, that the apostles were exalted from the most ignoble professions, the meanest sentinel, if enlightened by the spirit, was entitled to equal regard with the greatest commander. In order to wean the soldiers from these licentious maxims, Cromwel had issued orders for discontinuing the meetings of the agitators; and he pretended to pay entire obedience to the parliament, whom, being now fully reduced to subjection, he purposed to make, for the future, the instruments of his authority. But the *Levellers*, for so that party in the army was called, having experienced the sweets of dominion, would not so easily be deprived of it. They secretly continued their meetings: They asserted, that their officers, as much as any part of the church or state, needed reformation: Several regiments joined in seditious remonstrances and petitions¹³: Separate rendez-vouses were concerted: And every thing tended to anarchy and confusion. But this distemper was soon cured by the rough, but dextrous hand of Cromwel. He chose the opportunity of a review, that he might display the greater boldness, and spread the terror the wider. He seized the ringleaders before their companions; Held in the field a

¹³ Rush. vol. viii. p. 845, 859.

council of war: Shot one mutineer instantly: And struck such dread into the rest, that they presently threw down the symbols of sedition, which they had displayed, and thenceforth returned to their wonted discipline and obedience ⁵⁴.

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CROMWEL had great deference for the counsels of Ireton; a man, who, having grafted the soldier on the lawyer, the statesman on the saint, had adopted such principles as were fitted to introduce the severest tyranny, while they seemed to encourage the most unbounded licence, in human society. Fierce in his nature, though probably sincere in his intentions; he purposed by arbitrary power to establish liberty, and, in prosecution of his imagined religious purposes, he thought himself dispensed from all the ordinary rules of morality, by which inferior mortals must allow themselves to be governed. From his suggestion, Cromwel secretly called at Windsor a council of the chief officers, in order to deliberate concerning the settlement of the nation, and the future disposal of the king's person ⁵⁵. In this conference, which commenced with devout prayers, poured forth by Cromwel himself and other inspired persons (for the officers of this army received inspiration with their commission,) was first opened the daring and unheard-of counsel, of bringing the king to justice, and of punishing,

⁵⁴ Rush. vol. viii. p. 875. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 87.

⁵⁵ Clarendon, vol. v. p. 92.

C H A P. by a judicial sentence, their sovereign for his
 LIX. pretended tyranny and mal-administration. While
 1647. Charles lived, even though restrained to the
 closest prison, conspiracies, they knew, and
 insurrections would never be wanting, in favor
 of a prince, who was so extremely revered and
 beloved by his own party, and whom the nation
 in general began to regard with great affection and
 compassion. To murder him privately was exposed
 to the imputation of injustice and cruelty, aggra-
 vated by the baseness of such a crime; and every
 odious epithet of *Traitor* and *Assassin* would, by
 the general voice of mankind, be undisputably
 ascribed to the actors in such a villany. Some
 unexpected procedure must be attempted, which
 would astonish the world by its novelty, would
 bear the semblance of justice, and would cover
 its barbarity by the audaciousness of the enter-
 prise. Striking in with the fanatical notions of
 the entire equality of mankind, it would ensure
 the devoted obedience of the army, and serve
 as a general engagement against the royal family,
 whom, by their open and united deed, they
 would so heinously affront and injure “.

“ The following was a favorite text among the enthu-
 siasts of that age. “ Let the high praises of God be in
 “ the mouths of his saints, and a twofold sword in their
 “ hands, to execute vengeance upon the heathen and
 “ punishment upon the people; to bind their kings with
 “ chains and their nobles with fetters of iron; to execute
 “ upon them the judgments written: This honor have
 “ all his saints.” Psalm cxlix. ver. 6, 7, 8, 9. Hugh
 Peters, the mad chaplain of Cromwel, preached frequent-
 ly upon this text.

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THIS measure, therefore, being secretly resolved on, it was requisite, by degrees, to make the parliament adopt it, and to conduct them from violence to violence; till this last act of atrocious iniquity should seem, in a manner, wholly inevitable. The king, in order to remove those fears and jealousies, which were perpetually pleaded as reasons for every invasion of the constitution, had offered, by a message, sent from Carisbroke-castle, to resign, during his own life, the power of the militia and the nomination to all the great offices; provided, that, after his demise, these prerogatives should revert to the crown⁵⁷. But the parliament acted entirely as victors and enemies; and, in all their transactions with him, payed no longer any regard to equity or reason. At the instigation of the independents and army, they neglected this offer, and framed four proposals, which they sent him as preliminaries; and, before they would deign to treat, they demanded his positive assent to all of them. By one, he was required to invest the parliament with the military power for twenty years, together with an authority to levy whatever money should be necessary for exercising it: And even after the twenty years should be elapsed, they reserved a right of resuming the same authority, whenever they should declare the safety of the kingdom to require it. By the second, he was to recal all his proclamations and declarations against the parliament, and

⁵⁷ Rush. vol. viii. p. 880.

C H A P. acknowledge that assembly to have taken arms in
 LIX. their just and necessary defence. By the third, he was to annul all the acts, and void all the patents of peerage, which had passed the great seal, since it had been carried from London by lord-keeper Littleton; and at the same time, renounce for the future the power of making peers without consent of parliament. By the fourth, he gave the two houses power to adjourn as they thought proper: A demand seemingly of no great importance; but contrived by the independents, that they might be able to remove the parliament to places, where it should remain in perpetual subjection to the army⁵⁸.

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THE king regarded the pretension as unusual and exorbitant, that he should make such concessions, while not secure of any settlement; and should blindly trust his enemies for the conditions, which they were afterwards to grant him. He required, therefore, a personal treaty with the parliament, and desired, that all the terms, on both sides, should be adjusted, before any concession, on either side, should be insisted on. The republican party in the house pretended to take fire at this answer; and openly inveighed, in violent terms, against the person and government of the king; whose name, hitherto, had commonly, in all debates, been mentioned with some degree of reverence. Ireton, seeming to speak the sense of the army, under the appellation

⁵⁸ Clarendon, vol. v. p. 88.

of many thousand godly men, who had ventured their lives in defence of the parliament, said, that the king, by denying the four bills, had refused safety and protection to his people; that their obedience to him was but a reciprocal duty for his protection of them; and that, as he had failed on his part, they were freed from all obligations to allegiance, and must settle the nation, without consulting any longer so misguided a prince". Cromwel, after giving an ample character of the valor, good affections, and godliness of the army, subjoined, that it was expected the parliament should guide and defend the kingdom by their own power and resolutions, and not accustom the people any longer to expect safety and government from an obstinate man, whose heart God had hardened; that those, who, at the expense of their blood, had hitherto defended the parliament from so many dangers, would still continue, with fidelity and courage, to protect them against all opposition, in this vigorous measure. "Teach them not," added he, "by your neglecting your own safety and
 " that of the kingdom (in which theirs too is
 " involved) to imagine themselves betrayed, and
 " their interests abandoned to the rage and malice
 " of an irreconcilable enemy, whom, for your
 " sake, they have dared to provoke. Beware,
 " (*and at these words he laid his hand on his sword,*)
 " beware, lest despair cause them to seek safety
 " by some other means, than by adhering to

" Cl. Walker, p. 70.

C H A P. " you, who know not how to consult your own
 LIX. " safety "°." Such arguments prevailed; though
 1648. ninety-one members had still the courage to oppose.
 15th Jan. It was voted, that no more addressees be made to
 the king, nor any letters or messages be received
 from him; and that it be treason for any one,
 without leave of the two houses, to have any
 intercourse with him: The lords concurred in the
 same ordinance ⁶¹.

By this vote of non-addressees, so it was called, the king was, in reality, dethroned, and the whole constitution formally overthrown. So violent a measure was supported by a declaration of the commons no less violent. The blackest calumnies were there thrown upon the king; such as, even in their famous remonstrance, they thought proper to omit, as incredible and extravagant: The poisoning of his father, the betraying of Rochelle, the contriving of the Irish massacre ⁶². By blasting his fame, had that injury been in their power, they formed a very proper prelude to the executing of violence on his person.

No sooner had the king refused his assent to the four bills, than Hammond, by orders from the army, removed all his servants, cut off his correspondence with his friends, and shut him up in close confinement. The king afterwards showed to Sir Philip Warwick, a decrepid old man, who, he said, was employed to kindle his fire,

⁶⁰ Cl. Walker, p. 70. ⁶¹ Rush. vol. viii. p. 965. 967.

⁶² Rush. vol. viii. p. 998. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 93.

and was the best company he enjoyed, during several months that this rigorous confinement lasted⁶³. No amusement was allowed him, nor society, which might relieve his anxious thoughts: To be speedily poisoned or assassinated was the only prospect, which he had, every moment, before his eyes: For he entertained no apprehension of a judicial sentence and execution; an event, of which no history hitherto furnished an example. Meanwhile the parliament was very industrious in publishing, from time to time, the intelligence, which they received from Hammond; how chearful the king was, how pleased with every one that approached him, how satisfied in his present condition⁶⁴: As if the view of such benignity and constancy had not been more proper to inflame, than allay, the general compassion of the people. The great source whence the king derived consolation amidst all his calamities, was undoubtedly religion; a principle, which, in him, seems to have contained nothing fierce or gloomy, nothing which enraged him against his adversaries, or terrified him with the dismal prospect of futurity. While every thing around him bore a hostile aspect; while friends, family, relations, whom he passionately loved, were placed at a distance, and unable to serve him; he reposed himself with confidence in the arms of that being, who penetrates and sustains all nature, and whose severities, if received with piety and resignation,

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⁶³ Warwick, p. 329.⁶⁴ Rush, vol. viii. p. 989.

C H A P. he regarded as the surest pledges of unexhausted
LIX. favor.

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Second civil
war.

THE parliament and army, meanwhile, enjoyed not, in tranquillity, that power, which they had obtained with so much violence and injustice. Combinations and conspiracies, they were sensible, were every where forming around them; and Scotland, whence the king's cause had received the first fatal disaster, seemed now to promise it support and assistance.

BEFORE the surrender of the king's person at Newcastle, and much more, since that event, the subjects of discontent had been daily multiplying between the two kingdoms. The independents, who began to prevail, took all occasions of mortifying the Scots, whom the presbyterians looked on with the greatest affection and veneration. When the Scottish commissioners, who, joined to a committee of English lords and commons, had managed the war, were ready to depart, it was proposed in parliament to give them thanks for their civilities and good offices. The independents insisted, that the words, *Good offices*, should be struck out, and thus the whole brotherly friendship and intimate alliance with the Scots resolved itself into an acknowledgment of their being well-bred gentlemen.

THE advance of the army to London, the subjection of the parliament, the seizing of the king at Holdenby, his confinement in Carisbrooke-castle, were so many blows, sensibly felt by that nation; as threatening the final overthrow of presbytery,

presbytery, to which they were so passionately devoted. The covenant was profanely called, in the house of commons, an almanac out of date⁵; and that impiety, though complained of, had passed uncensured. Instead of being able to determine and establish orthodoxy by the sword and by penal statutes, they saw the sectarian army, who were absolute masters, claim an unbounded liberty of conscience, which the presbyterians regarded with the utmost abhorrence. All the violences, put on the king, they loudly blamed, as repugnant to the covenant, by which they stood engaged to defend his royal person. And those very actions, of which they themselves had been guilty, they denominated treason and rebellion, when executed by an opposite party.

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THE earls of Loudon, Lauderdale, and Laneric, who were sent to London, protested against the four bills; as containing too great a diminution of the king's civil power, and providing no security for religion. They complained, that, notwithstanding this protestation, the bills were still insisted on; contrary to the solemn league, and to the treaty between the two nations. And when they accompanied the English commissioners to the isle of Wight, they secretly formed a treaty with the king, for arming Scotland in his favor⁶.

THREE parties, at that time, prevailed in Scotland: The *Royalists*, who insisted upon the

Invasion
from Scot-
land.

⁵ Cl. Walker, p. 80.
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⁶ Clarendon, vol. v. p. 101.
H

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restoration of the king's authority, without any regard to religious sects or tenets: Of these Montrose, though absent, was regarded as the head. The *Rigid presbyterians*, who hated the king, even more than they abhorred toleration; and who determined to give him no assistance, till he should subscribe the covenant: These were governed by Argyle. The *Moderate presbyterians*, who endeavoured to reconcile the interests of religion and of the crown, and hoped, by supporting the presbyterian party in England, to suppress the sectarian army, and to re-instate the parliament, as well as the king, in their just freedom and authority: The two brothers, Hamilton and Lanerick, were leaders of this party.

WHEN Pendennis-castle was surrendered to the parliamentary army, Hamilton, who then obtained his liberty, returned into Scotland; and being generously determined to remember ancient favors, more than recent injuries, he immediately embraced, with zeal and success, the protection of the royal cause. He obtained a vote from the Scottish parliament to arm 40,000 men in support of the king's authority, and to call over a considerable body under Monro, who commanded the Scottish forces in Ulster. And though he openly protested, that the covenant was the foundation of all his measures, he secretly entered into correspondence with the English royalists, Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Musgrave, who had levied considerable forces in the north of England.

THE general assembly, who sat at the same time, and was guided by Argyle, dreaded the consequence of these measures, and foresaw, that the opposite party, if successful, would effect the restoration of monarchy, without the establishment of presbytery, in England. To join the king before he had subscribed the covenant, was, in their eyes, to restore him to his honor before Christ had obtained his⁶⁷; and they thundered out anathemas against every one, who payed obedience to the parliament. Two supreme independent judicatures were erected in the kingdom; one threatening the people with damnation and eternal torments, the other with imprisonment, banishment, and military execution. The people were distracted in their choice; and the armament of Hamilton's party, though seconded by all the civil power, went on but slowly. The royalists he would not, as yet, allow to join him, lest he might give offence to the ecclesiastical party; though he secretly promised them trust and preferment, as soon as his army should advance into England.

WHILE the Scots were making preparations for the invasion of England, every part of that kingdom was agitated with tumults, insurrections, conspiracies, discontents. It is seldom, that the people gain any thing by revolutions in government; because the new settlement, jealous and insecure, must commonly be supported with more

⁶⁷ Whitlocke, p. 309.

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expence and severity than the old : But on no occasion was the truth of this maxim more sensibly felt, than in the present situation of England. Complaints against the oppression of ship-money, against the tyranny of the star-chamber, had roused the people to arms : And having gained a complete victory over the crown, they found themselves loaded with a multiplicity of taxes, formerly unknown ; and scarcely an appearance of law and liberty remained in the administration. The presbyterians, who had chiefly supported the war, were enraged to find the prize, just when it seemed within their reach, snatched by violence from them. The royalists, disappointed in their expectations, by the cruel treatment which the king now received from the army, were strongly animated to restore him to liberty, and to recover the advantages, which they had unfortunately lost. All orders of men were inflamed with indignation at seeing the military prevail over the civil power, and king and parliament at once reduced to subjection by a mercenary army. Many persons of family and distinction had, from the beginning of the war, adhered to the parliament : But all these were, by the new party, deprived of authority ; and every office was intrusted to the most ignoble part of the nation. A base populace exalted above their superiors : Hypocrites exercising iniquity under the vizard of religion : These circumstances promised not much liberty or lenity to the people ; and these were now found united, in the same usurped and illegal administration.

THOUGH the whole nation seemed to combine in their hatred of military tyranny, the ends which the several parties pursued, were so different, that little concert was observed in their insurrections. Langhorne, Poyer, and Powel, Presbyterian officers, who commanded bodies of troops in Wales, were the first that declared themselves; and they drew together a considerable army in those parts, which were extremely devoted to the royal cause. An insurrection was raised in Kent by young Hales and the earl of Norwich. Lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, excited commotions in Essex. The earl of Holland, who had several times changed sides, since the commencement of the civil wars, endeavoured to assemble forces in Surrey. Pomfret-castle in Yorkshire was surpris'd by Morrice. Langdale and Musgrave were in arms, and masters of Berwic and Carlisle in the north.

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WHAT seemed the most dangerous circumstance; the general spirit of discontent had seized the fleet. Seventeen ships, lying in the mouth of the river, declared for the king; and putting Rainsborow, their admiral, ashore, sailed over to Holland, where the prince of Wales took the command of them⁶³.

THE English royalists exclaimed loudly against Hamilton's delays, which they attributed to a refined policy in the Scots; as if their intentions were, that all the king's party should first be

⁶³ Clarendon, vol. v. p. 137.

C H A P. suppressed, and the victory remain solely to the
 LIX. presbyterians. Hamilton, with better reason,
 1648. complained of the precipitate humor of the English royalists, who, by their ill-timed insurrections, forced him to march his army, before his levies were completed or his preparations in any forwardness.

No commotions, beyond a tumult of the apprentices, which was soon suppressed, were raised in London: The terror of the army kept the citizens in subjection. The parliament was so over-awed, that they declared the Scots to be enemies, and all who joined them, traitors. Ninety members, however, of the lower house had the courage to dissent from this vote.

CROMWEL and the military council prepared themselves with vigor and conduct for defence. The establishment of the army was, at this time, 26,000 men; but by inlisting supernumeraries, the regiments were greatly augmented, and commonly consisted of more than double their stated complement". Colonel Horton first attacked the revolted troops in Wales, and gave them a considerable defeat. The remnants of the vanquished threw themselves into Pembroke, and were there closely besieged, and soon after taken, by Cromwel. Lambert was opposed to Langdale and Musgrave in the north, and gained advantages over them. Sir Michael Livesey defeated the earl of Holland at Kingston, and pursuing his

" Whitlocke, p. 284.

victory, took him prisoner at St. Neots. Fairfax, C H A P.
having routed the Kentish royalists at Maidstone, LIX.
followed the broken army : And when they 1648.
joined the royalists of Essex, and threw themselves
into Colchester; he laid siege to that place, which
defended itself to the last extremity. A new fleet
was manned, and sent out under the command
of Warwic, to oppose the revolted ships, of
which the prince had taken the command.

WHILE the forces were employed in all quarters,
the parliament regained its liberty, and began to
act with its wonted courage and spirit. The
members, who had withdrawn, from terror of
the army, returned; and infusing boldness into their
companions, restored to the presbyterian party
the ascendant, which it had formerly lost. The
eleven impeached members were recalled, and
the vote, by which they were expelled, was
reversed. The vote too of non-addresses was re-
pealed; and commissioners, five peers and ten
commoners, were sent to Newport in the isle of
Wight, in order to treat with the king⁷⁰. He
was allowed to summon several of his friends
and old counsellors, that he might have their
advice in this important transaction⁷¹. The
theologians on both sides, armed with their syl-
logisms and quotations, attended as auxiliaries⁷².
By them, the flame had first been raised; and
their appearance was but a bad prognostic of its

⁷⁰ Clarendon, vol. v. p. 180. Sir Edward Walker's
perfect Copies, p. 6. ⁷¹ Ibid. p. 8. ⁷² Ibid. p. 8. 38.

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18th Sept.
Treaty of
Newport.

extinction. Any other instruments seemed better adapted for a treaty of pacification.

WHEN the king presented himself to this company, a great and sensible alteration was remarked in his aspect, from what it appeared the year before, when he resided at Hampton-Court. The moment his servants had been removed, he had laid aside all care of his person, and had allowed his beard and hair to grow, and to hang dishevelled and neglected. His hair was become almost entirely gray; either from the decline of years, or from that load of sorrows, under which he labored, and which, though borne with constancy, preyed inwardly on his sensible and tender mind. His friends beheld with compassion, and perhaps even his enemies, that *gray and discrowned head*; as he himself terms it, in a copy of verses, which the truth of the sentiment, rather than any elegance of expression, renders very pathetic⁷³. Having in vain endeavoured by courage to defend his throne from his armed adversaries, it now behoved him, by reasoning and persuasion, to save some fragments of it from these peaceful, and no less implacable negociators.

THE vigor of the king's mind, notwithstanding the seeming decline of his body, here appeared unbroken and undecayed. The parliamentary commissioners would allow none of his council to be present, and refused to enter into reasoning with any but himself. He alone, during the

⁷³ Burnet's Memoirs of Hamilton.

transactions of two months, was obliged to maintain the argument against fifteen men of the greatest parts and capacity in both houses; and no advantage was ever obtained over him⁷⁴. This was the scene, above all others, in which he was qualified to excel. A quick conception, a cultivated understanding, a chaste elocution, a dignified manner; by these accomplishments he triumphed in all discussions of cool and temperate reasoning. *The king is much changed*, said the earl of Salisbury to Sir Philip Warwic: *He is extremely improved of late*. No, replied Sir Philip, *he was always so: But you are now at last sensible of it*⁷⁵. Sir Henry Vane, discoursing with his fellow commissioners, drew an argument from the king's uncommon abilities, why the terms of pacification must be rendered more strict and rigid⁷⁶. But Charles's capacity shone not equally in action as in reasoning.

THE first point, insisted on by the parliamentary commissioners, was the king's recalling all his proclamations and declarations against the parliament, and the acknowledging, that they had taken arms in their own defence. He frankly offered the former concession; but long scrupled the latter. The falsehood, as well as indignity of that acknowledgment, begat in his breast an extreme reluctance against it. The king had, no doubt, in some particulars of moment, invaded,

⁷⁴ Herbert's Memoirs, p. 72. ⁷⁵ Warwick, p. 324.

⁷⁶ Clarendon. Sir Edward Walker, p. 319.

C H A P. from a seeming necessity, the privileges of his
 LIX. people : But having renounced all claim to these
 1648. usurped powers, having confessed his errors, and
 having repaired every breach in the constitution,
 and even erected new ramparts, in order to secure
 it; he could no longer, at the commencement
 of the war, be represented as the aggressor.
 However it might be pretended, that the former
 display of his arbitrary inclinations, or rather his
 monarchical principles, rendered an offensive or
 preventive war in the parliament prudent and
 reasonable; it could never, in any propriety of
 speech, make it be termed a defensive one. But
 the parliament, sensible, that the letter of the
 law condemned them as rebels and traitors,
 deemed this point absolutely necessary for their
 future security : And the king, finding, that
 peace could be obtained on no other terms, at
 last yielded to it. He only entered a protest,
 which was admitted; that no concession, made
 by him, should be valid, unless the whole treaty
 of pacification were concluded²⁷.

He agreed, that the parliament should retain,
 during the term of twenty years, the power over
 the militia and army, and that of levying what
 money they pleased for their support. He even
 yielded to them the right of resuming, at any
 time afterwards, this authority, whenever they
 should declare such a resumption necessary for
 public safety. In effect, the important power of

²⁷ Walker, p. 11, 12. 24.

the sword was for ever ravished from him and his successors ⁷⁸. C H A P.

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HE agreed, that all the great offices, during twenty years, should be filled by both houses of parliament ⁷⁹. He relinquished to them the entire government of Ireland, and the conduct of the war there ⁸⁰. He renounced the power of the wards, and accepted of 100,000 pounds a year in lieu of it ⁸¹. He acknowledged the validity of their great seal, and gave up his own ⁸². He abandoned the power of creating peers without consent of parliament. And he agreed, that all the debts, contracted in order to support the war against him, should be paid by the people.

So great were the alterations, made on the English constitution by this treaty, that the king said, not without reason, that he had been more an enemy to his people by these concessions, could he have prevented them, than by any other action of his life.

OF all the demands of the parliament, Charles refused only two. Though he relinquished almost every power of the crown, he would neither give up his friends to punishment, nor desert what he esteemed his religious duty. The severe repentance, which he had undergone, for abandoning Strafford, had, no doubt, confirmed him in the resolution never again to be guilty of a like error. His long solitude and severe afflictions

⁷⁸ Walker, p. 51.⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 78.⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 45.⁸¹ Walker, p. 69. 77.⁸² Ibid. p. 56. 68.

C H A P. had contributed to rivet him the more in those religious principles, which had ever a considerable influence over him. His desire, however, of finishing an accommodation induced him to go as far in both these particulars, as he thought any wise consistent with his duty.

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1648.

THE estates of the royalists being, at that time, almost entirely under sequestration, Charles, who could give them no protection, consented, that they should pay such compositions, as they and the parliament could agree on; and only begged, that they might be made as moderate as possible. He had not the disposal of offices; and it seemed but a small sacrifice to consent, that a certain number of his friends should be rendered incapable of public employments⁸³. But when the parliament demanded a bill of attainder and banishment against seven persons, the marquis of Newcastle, lord Digby, lord Biron, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Granville, Sir Francis Dodington, and judge Jenkins, the king absolutely refused compliance: Their banishment for a limited time he was willing to agree to⁸⁴.

RELIGION was the fatal point about which the differences had arisen; and of all others, it was the least susceptible of composition or moderation between the contending parties. The parliament insisted on the establishment of presbytery, the sale of the chapter lands, the abolition of all forms of prayer, and strict laws against catholics.

⁸³ Walker, p. 61.⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 91. 93.

C H A P.

LIX.

1643.

The king offered to retrench every thing, which he did not esteem of apostolical institution: He was willing to abolish archbishops, deans, prebends, canons: He offered, that the chapter lands should be let at low leases during ninety-nine years: He consented, that the present church government should continue during three years⁸⁵: After that time, he required not, that any thing should be restored to bishops but the power of ordination, and even that power to be exercised by advice of the presbyters⁸⁶. If the parliament, upon the expiration of that period, still insisted on their demand, all other branches of episcopal jurisdiction were abolished, and a new form of church government must, by common consent, be established. The book of common prayer he was willing to renounce, but required the liberty of using some other liturgy in his own chapel⁸⁷: A demand, which, though seemingly reasonable, was positively refused by the parliament.

IN the dispute on these articles, one is not surprised, that two of the parliamentary theologians should tell the king, *That if he did not consent to the utter abolition of episcopacy, he would be damned.* But it is not without some indignation, that we read the following vote of the lords and commons. “The houses, out of their detestation to that abominable idolatry used in the mass, do declare, that they cannot admit

⁸⁵ Walker, p. 29. 35. 49.⁸⁶ Ibid. p. 65.⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 75. 82. Rush, vol. viii. p. 1323.

C H A P. " of, or consent unto, any such indulgence in
 LIX. " any law, as is desired by his majesty for exempt-
 1648. " ing the queen and her family from the penalties
 " to be enacted against the exercise of the mass⁸⁸."

The treaty of marriage, the regard to the queen's sex and high station, even common humanity; all considerations were undervalued, in comparison of their bigotted prejudices⁸⁹.

It was evidently the interest, both of king and parliament, to finish their treaty with all expedition; and endeavour, by their combined force, to resist, if possible, the usurping fury of the army. It seemed even the interest of the parliament, to leave, in the king's hand, a considerable share of authority, by which he might be enabled to protect them and himself, from so dangerous an enemy. But the terms, on which they insisted, were so rigorous, that the king, fearing no worse from the most implacable enemies, was in no haste to come to a conclusion. And so great was the bigotry on both sides, that they were willing to sacrifice the greatest civil interests, rather than relinquish the most minute of their theological contentions. From these causes, assisted by the artifice of the independents, the treaty was spun out to such a length, that the invasions and insurrections were every where subdued; and the army had leisure to execute their violent and sanguinary purposes.

⁸⁸ Walker, p. 71.

⁸⁹ See note [D] at the end of the volume.

HAMILTON, having entered England with a numerous, though undisciplined, army, durst not unite his forces with those of Langdale; because the English royalists had refused to take the covenant; and the Scottish presbyterians, though engaged for the king, refused to join them on any other terms. The two armies marched together, though at some distance; nor could even the approach of the parliamentary army under Cromwel, oblige the covenanters to consult their own safety, by a close union with the royalists. When principles are so absurd and so destructive of human society, it may safely be averred, that, the more sincere and the more disinterested they are, they only become the more ridiculous and more odious.

C H A P.
LIX.
1648.
Civil war
and invasion
repressed.

CROMWEL feared not to oppose 8000 men, to the numerous armies of 20,000, commanded by Hamilton and Langdale. He attacked the latter by surprise, near Preston in Lancashire⁹⁰; and, though the royalists made a brave resistance, yet, not being succoured in time by their confederates, they were almost entirely cut in pieces. Hamilton was next attacked, put to rout, and pursued to Utoxeter, where he surrendered himself prisoner. Cromwel followed his advantage; and marching into Scotland with a considerable body, joined Argyle, who was also in arms; and having suppressed Laneric, Monro, and other moderate presbyterians, he placed the power entirely in

⁹⁰ 17th of August.

C H A P. the hands of the violent party. The ecclesiastical
 LIX. authority, exalted above the civil, exercised the
 1648. severest vengeance on all who had a share in
 Hamilton's engagement, as it was called; nor
 could any of that party recover trust, or even
 live in safety, but by doing solemn and public
 penance for taking arms, by authority of parlia-
 ment, in defence of their lawful sovereign.

THE chancellor, Loudon, who had, at first, countenanced Hamilton's enterprise, being terrified with the menaces of the clergy, had, some time before, gone over to the other party; and he now, openly in the church, though invested with the highest civil character in the kingdom, did penance for his obedience to the parliament, which he termed a *carnal self-seeking*. He accompanied his penance with so many tears, and such pathetic addresses to the people for their prayers in this his uttermost sorrow and distress, that an universal weeping and lamentation took place among the deluded audience⁹¹.

THE loan of great sums of money, often to the ruin of families was exacted from all such as lay under any suspicion of favoring the king's party, though their conduct had been ever so inoffensive. This was a device, fallen upon by the ruling party, in order, as they said, to reach *Heart Malignants*⁹². Never, in this island, was known a more severe and arbitrary government,

⁹¹ Whitlocke, p. 360.

⁹² Guthrey.

than

than was generally exercised, by the patrons of liberty in both kingdoms.

LIX.

1648.

THE siege of Colchester terminated in a manner no less unfortunate than Hamilton's engagement, for the royal cause. After suffering the utmost extremities of famine, after feeding on the vilest aliments; the garrison desired, at last, to capitulate. Fairfax required them to surrender at discretion; and he gave such an explanation to these terms, as to reserve to himself power, if he pleased, to put them all instantly to the sword. The officers endeavoured, though in vain, to persuade the soldiers, by making a vigorous sally, to break through, at least, to sell their lives as dear as possible. They were obliged⁹³ to accept of the conditions offered; and Fairfax, instigated by Ireton, to whom Cromwel, in his absence, had consigned over the government of the passive general, seized Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, and resolved to make them instant sacrifices to military justice. This unusual severity was loudly exclaimed against by all the prisoners. Lord Capel, fearless of danger, reproached Ireton with it; and challenged him, as they were all engaged in the same honorable cause, to exercise the same impartial vengeance on all of them. Lucas was first shot, and he himself, gave orders to fire, with the same alacrity, as if he had commanded a platoon of his own soldiers. Lisle instantly ran and kissed the dead body, then

⁹³ 18th of August.

C H A P. chearfully presented himself to a like fate. Thinking that the foldiers, destined for his execution, stood at too great a distance, he called to them to come nearer: One of them replied, *I'll warrant you, Sir, we'll hit you*: He answered smiling, *Friends, I have been nearer you when you have missed me*. Thus perished this generous spirit, not less beloved for his modesty and humanity, than esteemed for his courage and military conduct.

LIX.

1648.

SOON after, a gentleman appearing in the king's presence, clothed in mourning for Sir Charles Lucas; that humane prince, suddenly recollecting the hard fate of his friends, paid them a tribute, which none of his own unparalleled misfortunes ever extorted from him: He dissolved into a flood of tears ⁹⁴.

By these multiplied successes of the army, they had subdued all their enemies; and none remained but the helpless king and parliament, to oppose their violent measures. From Cromwel's suggestion, a remonstrance was drawn by the council of general officers, and sent to the parliament. They there complain of the treaty with the king; demand his punishment for the blood spilt during the war; require a dissolution of the present parliament, and a more equal representative for the future; and assert, that, though servants, they are entitled to represent these important points to their masters, who are themselves no better than servants and trustees of the people. At the

⁹⁴ Whitlocke.

same time, they advanced with the army to Windsor, and sent colonel Eure to seize the king's person at Newport, and convey him to Hurst-castle in the neighbourhood, where he was detained in strict confinement.

THIS measure being foreseen some time before, the king was exhorted to make his escape, which was conceived to be very easy: But having given his word to the parliament not to attempt the recovery of his liberty during the treaty, and three weeks after; he would not, by any persuasion, be induced to hazard the reproach of violating that promise. In vain was it urged, that a promise, given to the parliament, could no longer be binding; since they could no longer afford him protection from violence, threatened him by other persons, to whom he was bound by no tie or engagement. The king would indulge no refinements of casuistry, however plausible, in such delicate subjects; and was resolved, that, what depredations soever fortune should commit upon him, she never should bereave him of his honor⁹⁵.

THE parliament lost not courage, notwithstanding the danger, with which they were so nearly menaced. Though without any plan for resisting military usurpations, they resolved to withstand them to the uttermost; and rather to bring on a violent and visible subversion of government, than lend their authority to those illegal and

C H A P.

LIX.

1648.

The king
seized again
by the army.

⁹⁵ Col. Cooke's Memoirs, p. 174. Rush. vol. viii. p. 1347.

C H A P. sanguinary measures, which were projected. They
LIX. set aside the remonstrance of the army, without
1648. deigning to answer it; they voted the seizing of the king's person, to be without their consent, and sent a message to the general, to know by what authority that enterprise had been executed; and they issued orders, that the army should advance no nearer to London.

HOLLIS, the present leader of the presbyterians, was a man of unconquerable intrepidity; and many others of that party seconded his magnanimous spirit. It was proposed by them, that the generals and principal officers should, for their disobedience and usurpations, be proclaimed traitors by the parliament.

BUT the parliament was dealing with men, who would not be frightened by words, nor retarded by any scrupulous delicacy. The generals, under the name of Fairfax, (for he still allowed them to employ his name) marched the army to London, and placing guards in Whitehall, the Meuse, St. James's, Durham-house, Covent-garden, and Palace-yard, surrounded the parliament with their hostile armaments.

Decemb. 6.
 The house
 purged.

THE parliament, destitute of all hopes of prevailing, retained, however, courage to resist. They attempted, in the face of the army, to close their treaty with the king; and, though they had formerly voted his concessions with regard to the church and delinquents to be unsatisfactory, they now took into consideration the final resolution with regard to the whole.

After a violent debate of three days, it was carried by a majority of 129 against 83, in the house of commons, that the king's concessions were a foundation for the houses to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom.

C H A P.
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1648.

NEXT day, when the commons were to meet, colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had environed the house with two regiments; and, directed by lord Grey of Groby, he seized in the passage forty-one members of the presbyterian party, and sent them to a low room, which passed by the appellation of *hell*; whence they were afterwards carried to several inns. Above 160 members more were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and most determined of the independents; and these exceeded not the number of fifty or sixty. This invasion of the parliament commonly passed under the name of *colonel Pride's purge*; so much disposed was the nation to make merry with the dethroning of those members, who had violently arrogated the whole authority of government, and deprived the king of his legal prerogatives.

THE subsequent proceedings of the parliament, if this diminutive assembly deserve that honorable name, retain not the least appearance of law, equity, or freedom. They instantly reversed the former vote, and declared the king's concessions unsatisfactory. They determined, that no member, absent at this last vote, should be received, till he subscribed it, as agreeable to his judgment. They renewed their former vote

C H A P. of non-addresses. And they committed to prison,
 LIX. Sir William Waller, Sir John Clotworthy, the
 1648. generals Massey, Brown, Copley, and other
 leaders of the presbyterians. These men, by their
 credit and authority, which was then very high,
 had, at the commencement of the war, supported
 the parliament; and thereby prepared the way
 for the greatness of the present leaders, who, at
 that time, were of small account in the nation.

THE secluded members having published a
 paper, containing a narrative of the violence,
 which had been exercised upon them, and a
 protestation, that all acts were void, which,
 from that time, had been transacted in the house
 of commons; the remaining members encountered
 it with a declaration, in which they pronounced
 it false, scandalous, seditious, and tending to
 the destruction of the visible and fundamental
 government of the kingdom.

THESE sudden and violent revolutions held the
 whole nation in terror and astonishment. Every
 man dreaded to be trampled under foot, in the
 contention between those mighty powers, which
 disputed for the sovereignty of the state. Many
 began to withdraw their effects beyond sea:
 Foreigners scrupled to give any credit to a
 people, so torn by domestic faction, and oppressed
 by military usurpation: Even the internal com-
 merce of the kingdom began to stagnate: And
 in order to remedy these growing evils, the
 generals, in the name of the army, published a

declaration, in which they expressed their resolution of supporting law and justice ⁹⁶.

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LIX.

1648.

THE more to quiet the minds of men, the council of officers took into consideration, a scheme called *The agreement of the people*; being the plan of a republic, to be substituted in the place of that government, which they had so violently pulled in pieces. Many parts of this scheme, for correcting the inequalities of the representative, are plausible; had the nation been disposed to receive it, or had the army intended to impose it. Other parts are too perfect for human nature, and favor strongly of that fanatical spirit, so prevalent throughout the kingdom.

THE height of all iniquity and fanatical extravagance yet remained; the public trial and execution of their sovereign. To this period was every measure precipitated by the zealous independents. The parliamentary leaders of that party had intended, that the army, themselves, should execute that daring enterprise; and they deemed so irregular and lawless a deed, best fitted to such irregular and lawless instruments ⁹⁷. But the generals were too wise, to load themselves singly with the infamy, which, they knew, must attend an action, so shocking to the general sentiments of mankind. The parliament, they were resolved, should share with them the reproach of a measure, which was thought requisite for the advancement of their common ends of

⁹⁶ Rushworth, vol. viii. p. 1364.⁹⁷ Whitlocke.

C H A P. safety and ambition. In the house of commons,
LIX. therefore, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge against the king. On their report a vote passed, declaring it treason in a king, to levy war against his parliament, and appointing a HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE to try Charles for this new invented treason. This vote was sent up to the house of peers.

THE house of peers, during the civil wars, had, all along, been of small account; but it had lately, since the king's fall, become totally contemptible; and very few members would submit to the mortification of attending it. It happened, that day, to be fuller than usual, and they were assembled to the number of sixteen. Without one dissenting voice, and almost without deliberation, they instantly rejected the vote of the lower house, and adjourned themselves for ten days; hoping, that this delay would be able to retard the furious career of the commons.

1649.

THE commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. Having first established a principle, which is noble in itself, and seems specious, but is belied by all history and experience, *That the people are the origin of all just power;* they next declared, that the commons of England, assembled in parliament, being chosen by the people, and representing them, are the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted and declared to be law by the

commons, hath the force of law, without the consent of king or house of peers. The ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart, king of England, so they called him, was again read and unanimously assented to.

C H A P.
LIX.
1649.
January 4.

IN proportion to the enormity of the violences and usurpations, were augmented the pretences of sanctity, among those regicides. "Should any one have voluntarily proposed," said Cromwel in the house, "to bring the king to punishment, I should have regarded him as the greatest traitor; but, since providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I will pray to God for a blessing on your counsels; though I am not prepared to give you any advice on this important occasion. Even I myself," subjoined he, "when I was lately offering up petitions for his majesty's restoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and considered this preternatural movement as the answer which heaven, having rejected the king, had sent to my supplications."

A WOMAN of Hertfordshire, illuminated by prophetic visions, desired admittance into the military council, and communicated to the officers a revelation, which assured them, that their measures were consecrated from above, and ratified by a heavenly sanction. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their present resolutions⁹⁸.

⁹⁸ Whitlocke, p. 360.

C H A P.

LIX.

1649.

COLONEL Harrison, the son of a butcher, and the most furious enthusiast in the army, was sent with a strong party to conduct the king to London. At Windsor, Hamilton, who was there detained a prisoner, was admitted into the king's presence; and falling on his knees, passionately exclaimed, *My dear master!* — *I have indeed been so to you*, replied Charles, embracing him. No farther intercourse was allowed between them. The king was instantly hurried away. Hamilton long followed him with his eyes, all suffused in tears, and prognosticated, that, in this short salutation, he had given the last adieu to his sovereign and his friend.

CHARLES himself was assured, that the period of his life was now approaching; but notwithstanding all the preparations, which were making, and the intelligence, which he received, he could not, even yet, believe, that his enemies really meant to conclude their violences by a public trial and execution. A private assassination he every moment looked for; and though Harrison assured him, that his apprehensions were entirely groundless, it was by that catastrophe, so frequent with dethroned princes, that he expected to terminate his life. In appearance, as well as in reality, the king was now dethroned. All the exterior symbols of sovereignty were withdrawn, and his attendants had orders to serve him without ceremony. At first, he was shocked with instances of rudeness and familiarity, to which he had been so little accustomed, *Nothing*

so contemptible as a despised prince! was the reflection, which they suggested to him. But he soon reconciled his mind to this, as he had done to his other calamities.

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1649.

ALL the circumstances of the trial were now adjusted; and the high court of justice fully constituted. It consisted of 133 persons, as named by the commons; but there scarcely ever sat above 70: So difficult was it, notwithstanding the blindness of prejudice, and the allurements of interest, to engage men of any name or character in that criminal measure. Cromwel, Ireton, Harrison, and the chief officers of the army, most of them of mean birth, were members, together with some of the lower house and some citizens of London. The twelve judges were at first appointed in the number: But as they had affirmed, that it was contrary to all the ideas of English law to try the king for treason, by whose authority all accusations for treason must necessarily be conducted; their names, as well as those of some peers, were afterwards struck out. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president. Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of England. Dorislaus, Steele, and Aske, were named assistants. The court sat in Westminster-hall.

IT is remarkable, that, in calling over the court, when the crier pronounced the name of Fairfax, which had been inserted in the number, a voice came from one of the spectators, and cried, *He has more wit than to be here.* When the charge was read against the king, *In the name*

C H A P. *of the people of England; the same voice exclaimed,*
 LIX. *Not a tenth part of them.* Axtel the officer,
 1649. who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box, whence these insolent speeches came; it was discovered, that lady Fairfax was there, and that it was she who had the courage to utter them. She was a person of noble extraction, daughter of Horace lord Vere of Tilbury; but being seduced by the violence of the times, she had long seconded her husband's zeal against the royal cause, and was now, as well as he, struck with abhorrence at the fatal and unexpected consequences of all his boasted victories.

The king's
 trial.

THE pomp, the dignity, the ceremony of this transaction corresponded to the greatest conception, that is suggested in the annals of human kind; the delegates of a great people sitting in judgment upon their supreme magistrate, and trying him for his misgovernment and breach of trust. The solicitor, in the name of the commons, represented, that Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and *intrusted* with a limited power; yet nevertheless, from a wicked design to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, had traiterously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament, and the people, whom they represented; and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth. After the charge was finished, the president directed his discourse to the king, and told him, that the court expected his answer.

THE king, though long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, sustained, by his magnanimous courage, the majesty of a monarch. With great temper and dignity, he declined the authority of the court, and refused to submit himself to their jurisdiction. He represented, that, having been engaged in treaty with his two houses of parliament, and having finished almost every article, he had expected to be brought to his capital in another manner, and ere this time, to have been restored to his power, dignity, revenue, as well as to his personal liberty: That he could not now perceive any appearance of the upper house, so essential a member of the constitution; and had learned, that even the commons, whose authority was pretended, were subdued by lawless force, and were bereaved of their liberty; That he himself was their NATIVE HEREDITARY KING; nor was the whole authority of the state, though free and united, entitled to try him, who derived his dignity from the Supreme Majesty of Heaven: That, admitting those extravagant principles, which levelled all orders of men, the court could plead no power, delegated by the people; unless the consent of every individual, down to the meanest and most ignorant peasant, had been previously asked and obtained: That he acknowledged without scruple, that he had a *trust*, committed to him, and one most sacred and inviolable; he was intrusted with the liberties of his people, and would not now betray them, by recognizing a power, founded on the

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C H A P. most atrocious violence and usurpation : That
 LIX. having taken arms, and frequently exposed his
 1649. life, in defence of public liberty, of the constitution, of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, he was willing, in this last and most solemn scene, to seal with his blood those precious rights, for which, though in vain, he had so long contended: That those, who arrogated a title to sit as his judges, were born his subjects, and born subjects to those laws, which determined, *That the king can do no wrong*: That he was not reduced to the necessity of sheltering himself under this general maxim, which guards every English monarch, even the least deserving; but was able, by the most satisfactory reasons, to justify those measures, in which he had been engaged: That, to the whole world, and even to them, his pretended judges, he was desirous, if called upon in another manner, to prove the integrity of his conduct, and assert the justice of those defensive arms, to which, unwillingly and unfortunately, he had had recourse: But that, in order to preserve a uniformity of conduct, he must, at present, forego the apology of his innocence; lest, by ratifying an authority, no better founded than that of robbers and pirates, he be justly branded as the betrayer, instead of being applauded as the martyr, of the constitution.

THE president, in order to support the majesty of the people, and maintain the superiority of his court above the prisoner, still inculcated,

that he must not decline the authority of his judges ; that they over-ruled his objections ; that they were delegated by the people , the only source of every lawful power ; and that kings themselves acted but in trust from that community, which had invested this high court of justice with its jurisdiction. Even according to those principles , which , in his present situation, he was perhaps obliged to adopt, his behaviour, in general, will appear not a little harsh and barbarous ; but when we consider him as a subject, and one too of no high character, addressing himself to his unfortunate sovereign, his style will be esteemed, to the last degree, audacious and insolent.

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1649.

THREE times was Charles produced before the court , and as often declined their jurisdiction. On the fourth, the judges having examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved, that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by the parliament , they pronounced sentence against him. He seemed very anxious, at this time, to be admitted to a conference with the two houses ; and it was supposed, that he intended to resign the crown to his son : But the court refused compliance, and considered that request as nothing but a delay of justice.

27th Jan.

It is confessed , that the king's behaviour, during this last scene of his life, does honor to his memory ; and that, in all appearances before his judges, he never forgot his part , either as a prince or as a man. Firm and intrepid, he maintained, in each reply, the utmost perspicuity and

C H A P. justness both of thought and expression: Mild
 LIX. and equable, he rose into no passion at that
 1649. unusual authority, which was assumed over him. His soul, without effort or affectation, seemed only to remain in the situation familiar to it, and to look down with contempt on all the efforts of human malice and iniquity. The soldiers, instigated by their superiors, were brought, though with difficulty, to cry aloud for justice: *Poor souls!* said the king to one of his attendants; *for a little money they would do as much against their commanders* ⁹⁹. Some of them were permitted to go the utmost length of brutal insolence, and to spit in his face, as he was conducted along the passage to the court. To excite a sentiment of piety was the only effect, which this inhuman insult was able to produce upon him.

THE people, though under the rod of lawless, unlimited power, could not forbear, with the most ardent prayers, pouring forth their wishes for his preservation; and, in his present distress, they avowed *him*, by their generous tears, for their monarch, whom, in their misguided fury, they had before so violently rejected. The king was softened at this moving scene, and expressed his gratitude for their dutiful affection. One soldier too, seized by contagious sympathy, demanded from heaven a blessing on oppressed and fallen majesty: His officer, over-hearing the prayer, beat him to the ground in the king's

⁹⁹ Rushworth, vol. viii. p. 1425.

presence. *The punishment, methinks, exceeds the offence*: This was the reflection which Charles formed on that occasion ¹⁰⁰.

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1649.

As soon as the intention of trying the king was known in foreign countries, so enormous an action was exclaimed against by the general voice of reason and humanity; and all men, under whatever form of government they were born, rejected this example, as the utmost effort of undisguised usurpation, and the most heinous insult on law and justice. The French ambassador, by orders from his court, interposed in the king's behalf: The Dutch employed their good offices: The Scots exclaimed and protested against the violence: The queen, the prince, wrote pathetic letters to the parliament. All solicitations were found fruitless with men whose resolutions were fixed and irrevocable.

FOUR of Charles's friends, persons of virtue and dignity, Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, Lindeley, applied to the commons. They represented, that they were the king's counsellors, and had concurred, by their advice, in all those measures, which were now imputed as crimes to their royal master: That, in the eye of the law, and according to the dictates of common reason, they alone were guilty, and were alone exposed to censure for every blameable action of the prince: And that they now presented themselves, in order to save, by their own punishment, that

¹⁰⁰ Warwick, p. 339.

C H A P. precious life, which it became the commons
 LIX. themselves, and every subject, with the utmost
 1649. hazard, to protect and defend ¹⁰¹. Such a generous
 effort tended to their honor; but contributed
 nothing towards the king's safety.

THE people remained in that silence and
 astonishment, which all great passions, when
 they have not an opportunity of exerting them-
 selves, naturally produce in the human mind.
 The soldiers, being incessantly plied with prayers,
 sermons, and exhortations, were wrought up to
 a degree of fury, and imagined, that in the acts
 of the most extreme disloyalty towards their
 prince, consisted their greatest merit in the eye
 of heaven ¹⁰².

THREE days were allowed the king between
 his sentence and his execution. This interval he
 passed with great tranquillity, chiefly in reading
 and devotion. All his family, that remained in
 England, were allowed access to him. It con-
 sisted only of the princess Elizabeth and the duke
 of Gloucester; for the duke of York had made
 his escape. Gloucester was little more than an
 infant: The princess, notwithstanding her tender
 years, showed an advanced judgment; and the
 calamities of her family had made a deep im-
 pression upon her. After many pious consolations
 and advices, the king gave her in charge to tell
 the queen, that, during the whole course of his

¹⁰¹ Perincheff, p. 85. Lloyd, p. 319.

¹⁰² Burnet's History of his own Times.

life, he had never once, even in thought, failed C H A P.]
 in his fidelity towards her; and that his conjugal LIX.
 tendernefs and his life fhould have an equal 1649.
 duration.

To the young duke too, he could not forbear giving fome advice, in order to feafon his mind with early principles of loyalty and obedience towards his brother, who was fofoon to be his fovereign. Holding him on his knee, he faid, " Now they will cut off thy father's head. " At thefe words, the child looked very ftadfaftly upon him. " Mark! child, what I fay: They " will cut off my head! and perhaps make thee " a king: But mark what I fay: Thou muft not " be a king, as long as thy brothers, Charles " and James, are alive. They will cut off thy " brothers' heads, when they can catch them! " And thy head too they will cut off at laft! " Therefore I charge thee, do not be made a " king by them! " The duke, fighing, replied, " I will be torn in pieces firft! " So determined an anfwer, from one of fuch tender years, filled the king's eyes with tears of joy and admiration.

EVERY night, during this interval, the king fleep found as ufual; though the noife of workmen, employed in framing the fcaffold, and other preparations for his execution, continually refounded in his ears ¹⁰¹. The morning of the fatal day, he rofe early; and calling Herbert, one of his attendants, he bade him employ more

¹⁰¹ Clement Walker's history of independence.

C H A P. than usual care in dressing him, and preparing
LIX. him for so great and joyful a solemnity. Bishop
 1649. Juxon, a man endowed with the same mild and
 30th Jan. steady virtues, by which the king himself was
 so much distinguished, assisted him in his de-
 votions, and paid the last melancholy duties to
 his friend and sovereign.

**And exe-
 cution.**

THE street before Whitehall was the place
 destined for the execution: For it was intended,
 by chusing that very place, in sight of his own
 palace, to display more evidently the triumph of
 popular justice over royal majesty. When the
 king came upon the scaffold, he found it so
 surrounded with soldiers, that he could not ex-
 pect to be heard by any of the people: He
 addressed, therefore, his discourse to the few
 persons who were about him; particularly colonel
 Tomlinson, to whose care he had lately been
 committed, and upon whom, as upon many
 others, his amiable deportment had wrought an
 entire conversion. He justified his own innocence
 in the late fatal wars, and observed, that he had
 not taken arms, till after the parliament had
 enlisted forces; nor had he any other object in
 his warlike operations, than to preserve that
 authority entire, which his predecessors had
 transmitted to him. He threw not, however,
 the blame upon the parliament; but was more
 inclined to think, that ill instruments had inter-
 posed, and raised in them fears and jealousies
 with regard to his intentions. Though innocent
 towards his people, he acknowledged the equity

of his execution in the eyes of his Maker; and observed, that an unjust sentence, which he had suffered to take effect, was now punished by an unjust sentence upon himself. He forgave all his enemies, even the chief instruments of his death; but exhorted them and the whole nation to return to the ways of peace, by paying obedience to their lawful sovereign, his son and successor. When he was preparing himself for the block, bishop Juxon called to him: "There is, Sir, but one stage more, which, though turbulent and troublesome, is yet a very short one. Consider, it will soon carry you a great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you shall find, to your great joy, the prize, to which you hasten, a crown of glory." "I go," replied the king, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown; where no disturbance can have place." At one blow was his head severed from his body. A man in a vizor performed the office of executioner: Another, in a like disguise, held up to the spectators, the head, streaming with blood, and cried aloud, *This is the head of a traitor!*

IT is impossible to describe the grief, indignation, and astonishment, which took place, not only among the spectators, who were overwhelmed with a flood of sorrow, but throughout the whole nation, as soon as the report of this fatal execution was conveyed to them. Never monarch, in the full triumph of success and victory, was more dear to his people, than his

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misfortunes and magnanimity, his patience and piety, had rendered this unhappy prince. In proportion to their former delusions, which had animated them against him, was the violence of their return to duty and affection; while each reproached himself, either with active disloyalty towards him, or with too indolent defence of his oppressed cause. On weaker minds, the effect of these complicated passions was prodigious. Women are said to have cast forth the untimely fruit of their womb: Others fell into convulsions, or sunk into such a melancholy as attended them to their grave: Nay some, unmindful of themselves, as though they could not, or would not survive their beloved prince, it is reported, suddenly fell down dead. The very pulpits were bedewed with unshed tears; those pulpits, which had formerly thundered out the most violent imprecations and anathemas against him. And all men united in their detestation of those hypocritical parricides, who, by sanctified pretences, had so long disguised their treasons, and in this last act of iniquity, had thrown an indelible stain upon the nation.

A FRESH instance of hypocrisy was displayed the very day of the king's death. The generous Fairfax, not content with being absent from the trial, had used all the interest, which he yet retained, to prevent the execution of the fatal sentence; and had even employed persuasion with his own regiment, though none else should follow him, to rescue the king from his disloyal

murderers. Cromwel and Ireton, informed of this intention, endeavoured to convince him, that the Lord had rejected the king; and they exhorted him to seek by prayer some direction from heaven on this important occasion: But they concealed from him that they had already signed the warrant for the execution. Harrison was the person appointed to join in prayer with the unwary general. By agreement, he prolonged his doleful cant, till intelligence arrived, that the fatal blow was struck. He then rose from his knees, and insisted with Fairfax, that this event was a miraculous and providential answer, which heaven had sent to their devout supplications¹⁰⁴.

It being remarked, that the king, the moment before he stretched out his neck to the executioner, had said to Juxon, with a very earnest accent, the single word, REMEMBER; great mysteries were supposed to be concealed under that expression; and the generals vehemently insisted with the prelate, that he should inform them of the king's meaning. Juxon told them, that the king, having frequently charged him to inculcate on his son the forgiveness of his murderers, had taken this opportunity, in the last moment of his life, when his commands, he supposed, would be regarded as sacred and inviolable, to re-iterate that desire; and that his mild spirit thus terminated its present course, by an act of benevolence towards his greatest enemies.

¹⁰⁴ Herbert, p. 135.

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THE character of this prince, as that of most men, if not of all men, was mixed; but his virtues predominated extremely above his vices, or, more properly speaking, his imperfections: For scarce any of his faults rose to that pitch as to merit the appellation of vices. To consider him in the most favorable light, it may be affirmed, that his dignity was free from pride, his humanity from weakness, his bravery from rashness, his temperance from austerity, his frugality from avarice: All these virtues, in him, maintained their proper bounds, and merited unreserved praise. To speak the most harshly of him, we may affirm, that many of his good qualities were attended with some latent frailty, which, though seemingly inconsiderable, was able, when seconded by the extreme malevolence of his fortune, to disappoint them of all their influence: His beneficent disposition was clouded by a manner not very gracious; his virtue was tinged with superstition; his good sense was disfigured by a deference to persons of a capacity inferior to his own; and his moderate temper exempted him not from hasty and precipitate resolutions. He deserves the epithet of a good, rather than of a great man; and was more fitted to rule in a regular established government, than either to give way to the encroachments of a popular assembly, or finally to subdue their pretensions. He wanted suppleness and dexterity sufficient for the first measure: He was not endowed with the vigor requisite for the second. Had

he been born an absolute prince, his humanity and good sense had rendered his reign happy and his memory precious: Had the limitations on prerogative been, in his time, quite fixed and certain, his integrity had made him regard, as sacred, the boundaries of the constitution. Unhappily, his fate threw him into a period, when the precedents of many former reigns favored strongly of arbitrary power, and the genius of the people ran violently towards liberty. And if his political prudence was not sufficient to extricate him from so perilous a situation, he may be excused; since, even after the event, when it is commonly easy to correct all errors, one is at a loss to determine what conduct, in his circumstances, could have maintained the authority of the crown, and preserved the peace of the nation. Exposed, without revenue, without arms, to the assault of furious, implacable, and bigotted factions, it was never permitted him, but with the most fatal consequences, to commit the smallest mistake; a condition too rigorous to be imposed on the greatest human capacity.

SOME historians have rashly questioned the good faith of this prince: But, for this reproach, the most malignant scrutiny of his conduct, which, in every circumstance, is now thoroughly known, affords not any reasonable foundation. On the contrary, if we consider the extreme difficulties, to which he was so frequently reduced, and compare the sincerity of his professions and declarations; we shall avow, that probity and

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C H A P. honor ought justly to be numbered among his
 LIX. most shining qualities. In every treaty, those
 1649. concessions, which, he thought, he could not, in conscience, maintain, he never could, by any motive or persuasion, be induced to make. And though some violations of the petition of right may perhaps be imputed to him; these are more to be ascribed to the necessity of his situation, and to the lofty ideas of royal prerogative, which, from former established precedents, he had imbibed, than to any failure in the integrity of his principles ¹⁰⁵.

THIS prince was of a comely presence; of a sweet, but melancholy aspect. His face was regular, handsome, and well complexioned; his body strong, healthy, and justly proportioned; and being of a middle stature, he was capable of enduring the greatest fatigues. He excelled in horsemanship and other exercises; and he possessed all the exterior, as well as many of the essential qualities, which form an accomplished prince.

THE tragical death of Charles begat a question, whether the people, in any case, were entitled to judge and to punish their sovereign; and most men, regarding chiefly the atrocious usurpation of the pretended judges, and the merit of the virtuous prince who suffered, were inclined to condemn the republican principle, as highly seditious and extravagant: But there still were a

¹⁰⁵ See note [E] at the end of the volume.

few, who, abstracting from the particular circumstances of this case, were able to consider the question in general, and were inclined to moderate, not contradict, the prevailing sentiment. Such might have been their reasoning. If ever, on any occasion, it were laudable to conceal truth from the populace; it must be confessed, that the doctrine of resistance affords such an example; and that all speculative reasoners ought to observe, with regard to this principle, the same cautious silence, which the laws, in every species of government, have ever prescribed to themselves. Government is instituted, in order to restrain the fury and injustice of the people; and being always founded on opinion, not on force, it is dangerous to weaken, by these speculations, the reverence, which the multitude owe to authority. and to instruct them beforehand, that the case can ever happen, when they may be freed from their duty of allegiance. Or should it be found impossible to restrain the licence of human disquisitions, it must be acknowledged, that the doctrine of obedience ought alone to be *inculcated*, and that the exceptions, which are rare, ought seldom or never to be mentioned in popular reasonings and discourses. Nor is there any danger, that mankind, by this prudent reserve, should universally degenerate into a state of abject servitude. When the exception really occurs, even though it be not previously expected and descanted on, it must, from its very nature, be so obvious and undisputed, as to

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C H A P. remove all doubt, and overpower the restraint,
 LIX. however great, imposed by teaching the general
 1649. doctrine of obedience. But between resisting a
 prince and dethroning him, there is a wide
 interval; and the abuses of power, which can
 warrant the latter violence, are greater and more
 enormous, than those which will justify the
 former. History, however, supplies us with
 examples even of this kind; and the reality of
 the supposition, though, for the future, it ought
 ever to be little looked for, must, by all candid
 inquirers, be acknowledged in the past. But
 between dethroning a prince and punishing him,
 there is another very wide interval; and it were
 not strange, if even men of the most enlarged
 thought should question, whether human nature
 could ever, in any monarch, reach that height
 of depravity, as to warrant, in revolted subjects,
 this last act of extraordinary jurisdiction. That
 illusion, if it be an illusion, which teaches us to
 pay a sacred regard to the persons of princes, is
 so salutary, that to dissipate it by the formal trial
 and punishment of a sovereign, will have more
 pernicious effects upon the people, than the
 example of justice can be supposed to have a
 beneficial influence upon princes, by checking
 their career of tyranny. It is dangerous also, by
 these examples, to reduce princes to despair, or
 bring matters to such extremities against persons
 endowed with great power, as to leave them no
 resource, but in the most violent and most san-
 guinary counsels. This general position being

established, it must, however, be observed, that no reader, almost of any party or principle, was ever shocked, when he read, in ancient history, that the Roman senate voted Nero, their absolute sovereign, to be a public enemy, and, even without trial, condemned him to the severest and most ignominious punishment; a punishment, from which the meanest Roman citizen, was, by the laws, exempted. The crimes of that bloody tyrant are so enormous, that they break through all rules; and extort a confession, that such a dethroned prince is no longer superior to his people, and can no longer plead, in his own defence, laws, which were established for conducting the ordinary course of administration. But when we pass from the case of Nero to that of Charles, the great disproportion, or rather total contrariety, of character immediately strikes us; and we stand astonished, that, among a civilized people, so much virtue could ever meet with so fatal a catastrophe. History, the great mistress of wisdom, furnishes examples of all kinds; and every prudential, as well as moral precept, may be authorized by those events, which her enlarged mirror is able to present to us. From the memorable revolutions, which passed in England during this period, we may naturally deduce the same useful lesson, which Charles himself, in his later years, inferred; that it is dangerous for princes, even from the appearance of necessity, to assume more authority, than the laws have allowed them. But, it must be con-

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C H A P. fessed, that these events furnish us with another
 LIX. instruction, no less natural, and no less useful,
 1649. concerning the madness of the people, the furies
 of fanaticism, and the danger of mercenary
 armies.

5th Feb.

IN order to close this part of British history, it is also necessary to relate the dissolution of the monarchy in England: That event soon followed upon the death of the monarch. When the peers met, on the day appointed in their adjournment, they entered upon business, and sent down some votes to the commons, of which the latter deigned not to take the least notice. In a few days, the lower house passed a vote, that they would make no more addresses to the house of peers, nor receive any from them; and that that house was useless and dangerous, and was therefore to be abolished. A like vote passed with regard to the monarchy; and it is remarkable, that Martin, a zealous republican, in the debate on this question, confessed, that, if they desired a king, the last was as proper as any gentleman in England¹⁰⁶. The commons ordered a new great seal to be engraved, on which that assembly was represented, with this legend, ON THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING, RESTORED, 1648. The forms of all public business were changed, from the king's name, to that of the keepers of the liberties of England¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰⁶ Walker's history of Independence, part. 2.

¹⁰⁷ The court of King's Bench was called the court

And it was declared high treason to proclaim, or any otherwise acknowledge Charles Stuart, commonly called prince of Wales.

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THE commons intended, it is said, to bind the princess Elizabeth apprentice to a button-maker: The duke of Gloucester was to be taught some other mechanical employment. But the former soon died; of grief, as is supposed, for her father's tragical end: The latter was, by Cromwel, sent beyond sea.

THE king's statue, in the Exchange, was thrown down; and on the pedestal these words were inscribed: EXIT TYRANNUS, REGUM ULTIMUS; *The tyrant is gone, the last of the kings.*

DUKE HAMILTON was tried by a new high court of justice, as earl of Cambridge in England; and condemned for treason. This sentence, which was certainly hard, but which ought to save his memory from all imputations of treachery to his master, was executed on a scaffold, erected before Westminster-hall. Lord Capel underwent the same fate. Both these noblemen had escaped from prison, but were afterwards discovered and taken. To all the solicitations of their friends for pardon, the generals and parliamentary leaders still replied, that it was certainly the intention of providence

of Public Bench. So cautious on this head were some of the republicans, that, it is pretended, in reciting the Lord's prayer, they would not say *thy kingdom come*, but always *thy commonwealth come*.

C H A P. they should suffer; since it had permitted them to
 LIX. fall into the hands of their enemies, after they
 1649. had once recovered their liberty.

THE earl of Holland lost his life by a like sentence. Though of a polite and courtly behaviour, he died lamented by no party. His ingratitude to the king, and his frequent changing of sides, were regarded as great stains on his memory. The earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen, being condemned by the same court, were pardoned by the commons.

THE king left six children; three males, Charles, born in 1630, James duke of York, born in 1633, Henry duke of Gloucester, born in 1641; and three females, Mary princess of Orange, born 1631, Elizabeth, born 1635, and Henrietta, afterwards duchess of Orleans, born at Exeter 1644.

THE archbishops of Canterbury in this reign were Abbot and Laud: The lord keepers, Williams, bishop of Lincoln, lord Coventry, lord Finch, lord Littleton, and Sir Richard Lane; the high admirals, the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Northumberland; the treasurers, the earl of Marlborough, the earl of Portland, Juxon, bishop of London, and lord Cottington; the secretaries of state, lord Conway, Sir Albertus Moreton, Coke, Sir Henry Vane, lord Falkland, lord Digby, and Sir Edward Nicholas.

It may be expected, that we should here mention the *Icon Basilike*, a work published in the king's name a few days after his execution. It seems

seems almost impossible, in the controverted parts of history, to say any thing which will satisfy the zealots of both parties: But with regard to the genuineness of that production, it is not easy for an historian to fix any opinion, which will be entirely to his own satisfaction. The proofs brought to evince, that this work is or is not the king's, are so convincing, that, if an impartial reader peruse any one side apart ¹⁰⁸, he will think it impossible, that arguments could be produced, sufficient to counter-balance so strong an evidence: And when he compares both sides, he will be sometime at a loss to fix any determination. Should an absolute suspense of judgment be found difficult or disagreeable in so interesting a question, I must confess, that I much incline to give the preference to the arguments of the royalists. The testimonies, which prove that performance to be the king's, are more numerous, certain, and direct, than those on the other side. This is the case, even if we consider the external evidence: But when we weigh the internal, derived from the style and composition, there is no manner of

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¹⁰⁸ See on the one hand, Toland's *Amyntor*, and on the other, Wagstaffe's vindication of the royal martyr, with Young's addition. We may remark, that lord Clarendon's total silence with regard to this subject, in so full a history, composed in vindication of the king's measures and character, forms a presumption on Toland's side, and a presumption of which that author was ignorant; the works of the noble historian not being then published. Bishop Burnet's testimony too must be allowed of some weight against the *Icon*.

C H A P. comparifon. Thefe meditations refemble, in elegance, purity, neatnefs, and fimplicity, the genius of thofe performances, which we know with certainty to have flowed from the royal pen: But are fo unlike the bombaft, perplexed, rhetorical, and corrupt ftyle of Dr. Gauden, to whom they are afcribed, that no human testimony feems fufficient to convince us, that he was the author. Yet all the evidences, which would rob the king of that honor, tend to prove, that Dr. Gauden had the merit of writing fo fine a performance, and the infamy of impofing it on the world for the king's.

IT is not eafy to conceive the general compaffion excited towards the king, by the publifhing, at fo critical a juncture, a work fo full of piety, meeknefs, and humanity. Many have not fcrupled to afcribe to that book the fubfequent ref-toration of the royal family. Milton compares its effects to thofe which were wrought on the tumultuous Romans by Anthony's reading to them the will of Cæfar. The *Icon* paffed through fifty editions in a twelvemonth; and independent of the great intereft taken in it by the nation, as the fupposed production of their murdered fovereign, it muft be acknowledged the beft profe compofition, which, at the time of its publication, was to be found in the Englifh language.

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*State of England — Of Scotland — Of Ireland —
Levellers suppressed — Siege of Dublin raised —
Tredah stormed — Covenanters — Montrose taken
prisoner — Executed — Covenanters — Battle of
Dunbar — Of Worcester — King's escape — The
commonwealth — Dutch war — Dissolution of the
parliament.*

THE confusions, which overspread England after the murder of Charles I. proceeded as well from the spirit of refinement and innovation, which agitated the ruling party, as from the dissolution of all that authority, both civil and ecclesiastical, by which the nation had ever been accustomed to be governed. Every man had framed the model of a republic; and, however new it was, or fantastical, he was eager in recommending it to his fellow citizens, or even imposing it by force upon them. Every man had adjusted a system of religion, which, being derived from no traditional authority, was peculiar to himself; and being founded on supposed inspiration, not on any principles of human reason, had no means, besides cant and low rhetoric, by which it could recommend itself to others. The levellers insisted on an equal distribution of power and property, and disclaimed

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1649. all dependence and subordination. The millenarians or fifth-monarchy-men required, that government itself should be abolished, and all human powers be laid in the dust, in order to pave the way for the dominion of Christ, whose second coming they suddenly expected. The Antinomians even insisted, that the obligations of morality and natural law were suspended, and that the elect, guided by an internal principle, more perfect and divine, were superior to the *beggarly elements* of justice and humanity. A considerable party declaimed against tithes and hireling priesthood, and were resolved, that the magistrate should not support by power or revenue any ecclesiastical establishment. Another party inveighed against the law and its professors; and on pretence of rendering more simple the distribution of justice, were desirous of abolishing the whole system of English jurisprudence, which seemed interwoven with monarchical government. Even those among the republicans, who adopted not such extravagances, were so intoxicated with their faintly character, that they supposed themselves possessed of peculiar privileges; and all professions, oaths, laws, and engagements had, in a great measure, lost their influence over them. The bands of society were every where loosened; and the irregular passions of men were encouraged by speculative principles, still more unsocial and irregular.

THE royalists, consisting of the nobles and more considerable gentry, being degraded from

their authority and plundered of their property, were inflamed with the highest resentment and indignation against those ignoble adversaries, who had reduced them to subjection. The presbyterians, whose credit had first supported the arms of the parliament, were enraged to find, that, by the treachery or superior cunning of their associates, the fruits of all their successful labors were ravished from them. The former party, from inclination and principle, zealously attached themselves to the son of their unfortunate monarch, whose memory they respected, and whose tragical death they deplored. The latter cast their eye towards the same object; but they had still many prejudices to overcome, many fears and jealousies to be allayed, ere they could cordially entertain thoughts of restoring the family, which they had so grievously offended, and whose principles they regarded with such violent abhorrence.

THE only solid support of the republican independent faction, which, though it formed so small a part of the nation, had violently usurped the government of the whole, was a numerous army of near fifty thousand men. But this army, formidable from its discipline and courage, as well as its numbers, was actuated by a spirit, that rendered it dangerous to the assembly, which had assumed the command over it. Accustomed to indulge every chimera in politics, every frenzy in religion, the soldiers knew little of the subordination of citizens, and had only learned, from apparent necessity, some maxims of military

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C H A P. obedience. And while they still maintained, that
 LX. all those enormous violations of law and equity,
 1649. of which they had been guilty, were justified
 by the success, with which providence had
 blessed them; they were ready to break out into
 any new disorder, wherever they had the pro-
 spect of a like sanction and authority.

WHAT alone gave some stability to all these
 unsettled humors, was the great influence, both
 civil and military, acquired by Oliver Cromwel.
 This man, suited to the age in which he lived,
 and, to that alone, was equally qualified to gain
 the affection and confidence of men, by what
 was mean, vulgar, and ridiculous, in his character;
 as to command their obedience by what was
 great, daring, and enterprising. Familiar even to
 buffoonery with the meanest centinel, he never
 lost his authority: Transported to a degree of
 madness with religious extasies, he never forgot
 the political purposes, to which they might serve.
 Hating monarchy, while a subject; despising
 liberty, while a citizen; though he retained for
 a time all orders of men under a seeming obedi-
 ence to the parliament; he was secretly paving
 the way, by artifice and courage, to his own
 unlimited authority.

THE parliament, for so we must henceforth
 call a small and inconsiderable part of the house
 of commons, having murdered their sovereign
 with so many appearing circumstances of solemnity
 and justice, and so much real violence and even
 fury, began to assume more the air of a civil,

legal power, and to enlarge a little the narrow bottom upon which they stood. They admitted a few of the excluded and absent members, such as were liable to least exception; but on condition, that these members should sign an approbation of whatever had been done in their absence with regard to the king's trial: And some of them were willing to acquire a share of power on such terms: The greater part disdained to lend their authority to such apparent usurpations. They issued some writs for new elections, in places where they hoped to have interest enough to bring in their own friends and dependents. They named a council of state, thirty-eight in number, to whom all addresses were made, who gave orders to all generals and admirals, who executed the laws, and who digested all business before it was introduced into parliament¹. They pretended to employ themselves entirely in adjusting the laws, forms, and plan of a new representative; and as soon as they should have settled the nation, they professed their intention of restoring the power to the people, from whom, they acknowledged, they had entirely derived it.

¹ Their names were, the earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, Salisbury, lords Grey and Fairfax, Lisle, Rolles, St. John, Wilde, Bradshaw, Cromwel, Skippon, Pickering, Massam, Haselrig, Harrington, Vane jun. Danvers, Armine, Mildmay, Constable, Pennington, Wilson, Whitlocke, Martin, Ludlow, Stapleton, Hevingham, Wallop, Hutchinson, Bond, Popham, Valentine, Walton, Scot, Purefoy, Jones.

C H A P. THE commonwealth found every thing in
EX. England composed into a seeming tranquillity by
1649. the terror of their arms. Foreign powers, occupied in wars among themselves, had no leisure or inclination to interpose in the domestic dissensions of this island. The young king, poor and neglected, living sometimes in Holland, sometimes in France, sometimes in Jersey, comforted himself, amidst his present distresses, with the hopes of better fortune. The situation alone of Scotland and Ireland gave any immediate inquietude to the new republic.

Of Scotland. AFTER the successive defeats of Montrose and Hamilton, and the ruin of their parties, the whole authority in Scotland fell into the hands of Argyle and the rigid churchmen, that party which was most averse to the interests of the royal family. Their enmity, however, against the independents, who had prevented the settlement of presbyterian discipline in England, carried them to embrace opposite maxims in their political conduct. Though invited by the English parliament to model their government into a republican form, they resolved still to adhere to monarchy, which had ever prevailed in their country, and which, by the express terms of their covenant, they had engaged to defend. They considered besides, that as the property of the kingdom lay mostly in the hands of great families, it would be difficult to establish a commonwealth, or without some chief magistrate, invested with royal authority, to preserve peace or justice in the community. The execu-

tion, therefore, of the king, against which they had always protested, having occasioned a vacancy of the throne, they immediately proclaimed his son and successor, Charles II; but upon condition “ of his good behaviour and strict observance “ of the covenant, and his entertaining no other “ persons about him but such as were godly men “ and faithful to that obligation. ” These unusual clauses, inserted in the very first acknowledgment of their prince, sufficiently showed their intention of limiting extremely his authority. And the English commonwealth, having no pretence to interpose in the affairs of that kingdom, allowed the Scots, for the present, to take their own measures in settling their government.

THE dominion, which England claimed over Ireland, demanded more immediately their efforts for subduing that country. In order to convey a just notion of Irish affairs, it will be necessary to look backwards some years, and to relate briefly those transactions, which had past during the memorable revolutions in England. When the late king agreed to that cessation of arms with the Popish rebels², which was become so requisite, as well for the security of the Irish protestants as for promoting his interests in England, the parliament, in order to blacken his conduct, reproached him with favoring that odious rebellion, and exclaimed loudly against the terms of the cessation. They even went so far as to declare it entirely

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Of Ireland.

² 1643.

C H A P. null and invalid, because finished without their
 LX. consent; and to this declaration the Scots in
 1649. Ulster, and the earl of Inchiquin, a nobleman of
 great authority in Munster, professed to adhere.
 By their means, the war was still kept alive; but
 as the dangerous distractions in England hindered
 the parliament from sending any considerable
 assistance to their allies in Ireland, the marquis
 of Ormond, lord lieutenant, being a native of
 Ireland, and a person endowed with great pru-
 dence and virtue, formed a scheme for composing
 the disorders of his country, and for engaging
 the rebel Irish to support the cause of his royal
 master. There were many circumstances which
 strongly invited the natives of Ireland to embrace
 the king's party. The maxims of that prince had
 always led him to give a reasonable indulgence to
 the catholics throughout all his dominions; and
 one principal ground of that enmity, which the
 puritans professed against him, was this tacit
 toleration. The parliament, on the contrary,
 even when unprovoked, had ever menaced the
 papists with the most rigid restraint, if not a
 total extirpation; and immediately after the com-
 mencement of the Irish rebellion, they put to
 sale all the estates of the rebels, and had engaged
 the public faith for transferring them to the adven-
 turers, who had already advanced money upon
 that security. The success, therefore, which the
 arms of the parliament met with at Naseby,
 struck a just terror into the Irish; and engaged
 the council of Kilkenny, composed of deputies

from all the catholic counties and cities, to conclude a peace with the marquis of Ormond^s. They professed to return to their duty and allegiance, engaged to furnish ten thousand men for the support of the king's authority in England, and were content with stipulating, in return, indemnity for their rebellion and toleration of their religion.

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ORMOND not doubting but a peace, so advantageous and even necessary to the Irish, would be strictly observed, advanced with a small body of troops to Kilkenny, in order to concert measures for common defence with his new allies. The pope had sent over to Ireland a nuncio, Rinuccini, an Italian; and this man, whose commission empowered him to direct the spiritual concerns of the Irish, was emboldened, by their ignorance and bigotry, to assume the chief authority in the civil government. Foreseeing that a general submission to the lord-lieutenant would put an end to his own influence, he conspired with Owen O'Neal, who commanded the native Irish in Ulster, and who bore a great jealousy to Preston, the general chiefly trusted by the council of Kilkenny. By concert, these two malecontents secretly drew forces together, and were ready to fall on Ormond, who remained in security, trusting to the pacification so lately concluded with the rebels. He received intelligence of their treachery, made his retreat with celerity and

C H A P. conduct, and sheltered his small army in Dublin
 LX. and the other fortified towns, which still remained
 1649. in the hands of the protestants.

THE nuncio, full of arrogance, levity, and ambition, was not contented with this violation of treaty. He summoned an assembly of the clergy at Waterford, and engaged them to declare against that pacification, which the civil council had concluded with their sovereign. He even thundered out a sentence of excommunication against all who should adhere to a peace, so prejudicial, as he pretended, to the catholic religion; and the deluded Irish, terrified with his spiritual menaces, ranged themselves every where on his side, and submitted to his authority. Without scruple, he carried on war against the lord-lieutenant, and threatened with a siege the protestant garrisons, which were, all of them, very ill provided for defence.

MEANWHILE, the unfortunate king was necessitated to take shelter in the Scottish army; and being there reduced to close confinement, and secluded from all commerce with his friends, despaired, that his authority, or even his liberty, would ever be restored to him. He sent orders to Ormond, if he could not defend himself, rather to submit to the English than to the Irish rebels; and accordingly the lord-lieutenant, being reduced to extremities, delivered up Dublin, Tredah, Dundalk, and other garrisons to colonel Michael Jones, who took possession of them in the name of the English parliament. Ormond

himself went over to England, was admitted into the king's presence, received a grateful acknowledgment for his past services, and during some time, lived in tranquillity near London. But being banished, with the other royalists, to a distance from that city, and seeing every event turn out unfortunately for his royal master, and threaten him with a catastrophe still more direful, he thought proper to retire into France, where he joined the queen and the prince of Wales.

IN Ireland, during these transactions, [the authority of the nuncio prevailed without controul among all the catholics; and that prelate, by his indiscretion and insolence, soon made them repent of the power, with which they had intrusted him. Prudent men likewise were sensible of the total destruction, which was hanging over the nation from the English parliament, and saw no resource or safety but in giving support to the declining authority of the king. The earl of Clanricarde, a nobleman of an ancient family, a person too of merit, who had ever preserved his loyalty, was sensible of the ruin which threatened his countrymen, and was resolved, if possible, to prevent it. He secretly formed a combination among the catholics; he entered into a correspondence with Inchiquin, who preserved great authority over the protestants in Munster; he attacked the nuncio, whom he chased out of the island; and he sent to Paris a deputation, inviting the lord-lieutenant to return and take possession of his government.

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LX.

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C H A P. ORMOND, on his arrival in Ireland, found the
 LX. kingdom divided into many factions, among which
 1649. either open war or secret enmity prevailed. The
 authority of the English parliament was established
 in Dublin, and the other towns, which he him-
 self had delivered into their hands. O'Neal main-
 tained his credit in Ulster; and having entered
 into a secret correspondence with the parlia-
 mentary generals, was more intent on schemes
 for his own personal safety than anxious for the
 preservation of his country or religion. The
 other Irish, divided between their clergy, who
 were averse to Ormond, and their nobility, who
 were attached to him, were very uncertain in
 their motions and feeble in their measures. The
 Scots in the north, enraged, as well as their
 other countrymen, against the usurpations of the
 sectarian army, professed their adherence to the
 king; but were still hindered by many prejudices
 from entering into a cordial union with his
 lieutenant. All these distracted councils and
 contrary humors checked the progress of Or-
 mond, and enabled the parliamentary forces in
 Ireland to maintain their ground against him.
 The republican faction, meanwhile, in England,
 employed in subduing the revolted royalists,
 in reducing the parliament to subjection, in
 the trial, condemnation, and execution of their
 sovereign, totally neglected the supplying of
 Ireland, and allowed Jones and the forces in
 Dublin to remain in the utmost weakness and
 necessity. The lord lieutenant, though surrounded

with difficulties, neglected not the favorable opportunity of promoting the royal cause. Having at last assembled an army of 16,000 men, he advanced upon the parliamentary garrisons. Dundalk, where Monk commanded, was delivered up by the troops, who mutinied against their governor. Tredah, Neury, and other forts were taken. Dublin was threatened with a siege; and the affairs of the lieutenant appeared in so prosperous a condition, that the young king entertained thoughts of coming in person into Ireland.

WHEN the English commonwealth was brought to some tolerable settlement, men began to cast their eyes towards the neighbouring island. During the contest of the two parties, the government of Ireland had remained a great object of intrigue; and the presbyterians endeavoured to obtain the lieutenancy for Waller, the independents for Lambert. After the execution of the king, Cromwel himself began to aspire to a command, where so much glory, he saw, might be won, and so much authority acquired. In his absence, he took care to have his name proposed to the council of state; and both friends and enemies concurred immediately to vote him into that important office: The former suspected, that the matter had not been proposed merely by chance, without his own concurrence; the latter desired to remove him to a distance, and hoped, during his absence, to gain the ascendant over Fairfax, whom he had so long blinded by his hypocritical professions. Cromwel himself, when informed of

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15th March.

C H A P. his election, feigned surprise, and pretended at
 LX. first to hesitate with regard to the acceptance of
 1649. the command. And Lambert, either deceived
 by his dissimulation, or in his turn, feigning to
 be deceived, still continued, notwithstanding this
 disappointment, his friendship and connexions with
 Cromwel.

THE new lieutenant immediately applied him-
 self with his wonted vigilance to make preparations
 for his expedition. Many disorders in England
 it behoved him previously to compose. All
 places were full of danger and inquietude. Though
 men, astonished with the successes of the army,
 remained in seeming tranquillity, symptoms of the
 greatest discontent every where appeared. The
 English, long accustomed to a mild administration,
 and unacquainted with dissimulation, could not
 conform their speech and countenance to the pre-
 sent necessity, or pretend attachment to a form
 of government, which they generally regarded
 with such violent abhorrence. It was requisite
 to change the magistracy of London, and to de-
 grade, as well as punish, the mayor and some
 of the aldermen, before the proclamation for the
 abolition of monarchy could be published in the
 city. An engagement being framed to support
 the commonwealth without king or house of
 peers, the army was with some difficulty brought
 to subscribe it; but though it was imposed upon
 the rest of the nation under severe penalties, no
 less than putting all who refused out of the pro-
 tection of law; such obstinate reluctance was
 observed

observed in the people, that even the imperious parliament was obliged to desist from it. The spirit of fanaticism, by which that assembly had at first been strongly supported, was now turned, in a great measure, against them. The pulpits, being chiefly filled with presbyterians, or disguised royalists, and having long been the scene of news and politics, could by no penalties be restrained from declarations, unfavorable to the established government. Numberless were the extravagances, which broke out among the people. Everard, a disbanded soldier, having preached that the time was now come when the community of goods would be renewed among christians, led out his followers to take possession of the land; and being carried before the general, he refused to salute him; because he was but his fellow creature⁴. What seemed more dangerous: The army itself was infected with like humors⁵. Though the levellers had for a time been suppressed by the audacious spirit of Cromwel, they still continued to propagate their doctrines among the private men and inferior officers, who pretended a right to be consulted, as before, in the administration of the commonwealth. They now practised against their officers the same lesson, which they had been taught against the parliament. They framed a remonstrance, and sent five agitators to present it to the general and council

⁴ Whitlocke.

⁵ See note [F] at the end of the volume.

C H A P. of war : These were cashiered with ignominy by
 LX. sentence of a court martial. One Lockier, having
 1649. carried his sedition farther, was sentenced to
 death ; but this punishment was so far from
 quelling the mutinous spirit, that above a thou-
 sand of his companions showed their adherence
 to him, by attending his funeral, and wearing
 in their hats black and sea-green ribbons by
 way of favors. About four thousand assembled
 at Burford, under the command of Thomson, a
 man formerly condemned for sedition by a court-
 martial, but pardoned by the general. Colonel
 Reynolds, and afterwards Fairfax and Cromwel,
 fell upon them, while unprepared for defence,
 and seduced by the appearance of a treaty. Four
 hundred were taken prisoners : Some of them ca-
 pitally punished : The rest pardoned : And this
 tumultuous spirit, though it still lurked in the
 army, and broke out from time to time, seemed
 for the present to be suppressed.

Levellers
 suppressed.

May.

PETITIONS, framed in the same spirit of op-
 position, were presented to the parliament by
 lieutenant-colonel Lilburn, the person who, for
 dispersing seditious libels, had formerly been
 treated with such severity by the star-chamber.
 His liberty was at this time as ill relished by the
 parliament, and he was thrown into prison, as a
 promoter of sedition and disorder in the com-
 monwealth. The women applied by petition for
 his release ; but were now desired to mind their
 household affairs, and leave the government of
 the state to the men. From all quarters, the

parliament was harassed with petitions of a very free nature, which strongly spoke the sense of the nation, and proved how ardently all men longed for the restoration of their laws and liberties. Even in a feast, which the city gave to the parliament and council of state, it was deemed a requisite precaution, if we may credit Walker and Dugdale, to swear all the cooks, that they would serve nothing but wholesome food to them.

THE parliament judged it necessary to enlarge the laws of high-treason beyond those narrow bounds, within which they had been confined during the monarchy. They even comprehended verbal offences, nay intentions, though they had never appeared in any overt act against the state. To affirm the present government to be an usurpation, to assert that the parliament or council of state were tyrannical or illegal, to endeavour subverting their authority or stirring up sedition against them; these offences were declared to be high-treason. The power of imprisonment, of which the petition of right had bereaved the king, it was now found necessary to restore to the council of state; and all the jails in England were filled with men whom the jealousies and fears of the ruling party had represented as dangerous*. The taxes, continued by the new government, and which, being unusual, were esteemed heavy, increased the general ill will, under which it labored. Besides the customs and

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* History of Independence, part. II.

C H A P. excise, ninety thousand pounds a month were
 LX. levied on land for the subsistence of the army.
 1649. The sequestrations and compositions of the royal-
 ists, the sale of the crown lands, and of the
 dean and chapter lands, though they yielded
 great sums, were not sufficient to support the vast
 expenses, and, as was suspected, the great
 depredations, of the parliament and of their
 creatures⁷.

AMIDST all these difficulties and disturbances,
 the steady mind of Cromwel, without confusion
 or embarrassment, still pursued its purpose.
 While he was collecting an army of twelve
 thousand men in the west of England, he sent to
 Ireland, under Reynolds and Venables, a rein-
 forcement of four thousand horse and foot, in
 order to strengthen Jones, and enable him to
 defend himself against the marquis of Ormond,
 who lay at Finglass, and was making preparations
 for the attack of Dublin. Inchiquin, who had
 now made a treaty with the king's lieutenant,
 having, with a separate body, taken Tredah
 and Dundalk, gave a defeat to Offarrell who
 served under O'Neal, and to young Coot who
 commanded some parliamentary forces. After he
 had joined his troops to the main army, with
 whom, for some time, he remained united,
 Ormond passed the river Liffy, and took post at
 Rathmines, two miles from Dublin, with a
 view of commencing the siege of that city. In

⁷ Parl. History, vol. xix. p. 136. 176.

order to cut off all farther supply from Jones, he had begun the reparation of an old fort, which lay at the gates of Dublin; and being exhausted with continual fatigue for some days, he had retired to rest, after leaving orders to keep his forces under arms. He was suddenly awaked with the noise of firing; and starting from his bed, saw every thing already in tumult and confusion. Jones, an excellent officer, formerly a lawyer, had sallied out with the reinforcement newly arrived; and attacking the party employed in repairing the fort, he totally routed them, pursued the advantage, and fell in with the army, which had neglected Ormond's orders. These he soon threw into disorder; put them to flight, in spite of all the efforts of the lord lieutenant; chased them off the field; seized all their tents, baggage, ammunition; and returned victorious to Dublin, after killing a thousand men, and taking above two thousand prisoners^s.

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2d August.

Siege of
Dublin
raised.

THIS loss, which threw some blemish on the military character of Ormond, was irreparable to the royal cause. That numerous army, which, with so much pains and difficulty, the lord lieutenant had been collecting for more than a year, was dispersed in a moment. Cromwel soon after arrived in Dublin, where he was welcomed with shouts and rejoicings. He hastened to Tredah. That town was well fortified: Ormond had thrown into it a good garrison of three thou-

15th August.

^s Parl. Hist. vol. xix. p. 165.

CHAP. sand men, under Sir Arthur Aston, an officer
 LX. of reputation. He expected that Tredah, lying
 1649. in the neighbourhood of Dublin, would first be
 attempted by Cromwel, and he was desirous to
 employ the enemy some time in that siege, while
 he himself should repair his broken forces. But
 Cromwel knew the importance of dispatch. Hav-
 ing made a breach, he ordered a general assault.
 Though twice repulsed with loss, he renewed
 the attack, and himself, along with Ireton, led
 on his men. All opposition was overborne by
 the furious valor of the troops. The town was
 taken sword in hand; and orders being issued
 to give no quarter, a cruel slaughter was made
 of the garrison. Even a few, who were saved
 by the soldiers, fatiated with blood, were next
 day miserably butchered by orders from the ge-
 neral. One person alone of the garrison escaped
 to be a messenger of this universal havoc and
 destruction.

September.
 Tredah
 stormed.

CROMWEL pretended to retaliate by this severe
 execution the cruelty of the Irish massacre: But
 he well knew, that almost the whole garrison
 was English; and his justice was only a barbarous
 policy, in order to terrify all other garrisons from
 resistance. His policy, however, had the desired
 effect. Having led the army without delay to
 Wexford, he began to batter the town. The
 garrison after a slight defence offered to capitulate;
 but before they obtained a cessation, they im-
 prudently neglected their guards; and the English
 army rushed in upon them. The same severity
 was exercised as at Tredah.

EVERY town, before which Cromwel presented himself, now opened its gates without resistance. Rofs, though strongly garrisoned, was surrendered by lord Taffe. Having taken Estionage, Cromwel threw a bridge over the Barrow, and made himself master of Passage and Carric. The English had no farther difficulties to encounter than what arose from fatigue and the advanced season. Fluxes and contagious distempers creaped in among the soldiers, who perished in great numbers. Jones himself, the brave governor of Dublin, died at Wexford. And Cromwel had so far advanced with his decayed army, that he began to find it difficult, either to subsist in the enemy's country, or retreat to his own garrisons. But while he was in these straits, Corke, Kinsale, and all the English garrisons in Munster deserted to him, and opening their gates resolved to share the fortunes of their victorious countrymen.

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October.

November.

THIS desertion of the English put an end to Ormond's authority, which was already much diminished by the misfortunes at Dublin, Tredah, and Wexford. The Irish, actuated by national and religious prejudices, could no longer be kept in obedience by a protestant governor, who was so unsuccessful in all his enterprises. The clergy renewed their excommunications against him and his adherents, and added the terrors of superstition to those which arose from a victorious enemy. Cromwel having received a reinforcement from England, again took the field early in the spring. He made himself master of

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Kilkenny and Clonwel, the only places where he met with any vigorous resistance. The whole frame of the Irish union being in a manner dissolved, Ormond, soon after, left the island, and delegated his authority to Clanricarde, who found affairs so desperate as to admit of no remedy. The Irish were glad to embrace banishment as a refuge. Above 40,000 men passed into foreign service; and Cromwel, well-pleased to free the island from enemies, who never could be cordially reconciled to the English, gave them full liberty and leisure for their embarkation.

WHILE Cromwel proceeded with such uninterrupted success in Ireland, which in the space of nine months he had almost entirely subdued, fortune was preparing for him a new scene of victory and triumph in Scotland. Charles was at the Hague, when Sir Joseph Douglas brought him intelligence, that he was proclaimed king by the Scottish parliament. At the same time, Douglas informed him of the hard conditions annexed to the proclamation, and extremely damped that joy, which might arise from his being recognized sovereign in one of his kingdoms. Charles too considered, that those who pretended to acknowledge his title, were at that very time in actual rebellion against his family, and would be sure to intrust very little authority in his hands, and scarcely would afford him personal liberty and security. As the prospect of affairs in Ireland was at that time not unpromising, he intended rather to try his fortune in

that kingdom, from which he expected more dutiful submission and obedience.

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MEANWHILE he found it expedient to depart from Holland. The people in the United Provinces were much attached to his interests. Besides his connexion with the family of Orange, which was extremely beloved by the populace, all men regarded with compassion his helpless condition, and expressed the greatest abhorrence against the murder of his father; a deed, to which nothing, they thought, but the rage of fanaticism and faction could have impelled the parliament. But though the public in general bore great favor to the king, the States were uneasy at his presence. They dreaded the parliament, so formidable by their power, and so prosperous in all their enterprises. They apprehended the most precipitate resolutions from men of such violent and haughty dispositions. And after the murder of Dorislaus, they found it still more necessary to satisfy the English commonwealth, by removing the king to a distance from them.

DORISLAUS, though a native of Holland, had lived long in England; and being employed as assistant to the high court of justice, which condemned the late king, he had risen to great credit and favor with the ruling party. They sent him envoy to Holland; but no sooner had he arrived at the Hague, than he was set upon by some royalists, chiefly retainers to Montrose. They rushed into the room, where he was sitting with some company; dragged him from

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C H A P. the table; put him to death as the first victim
 LX. to their murdered sovereign; very leisurely and
 1650. peaceably separated themselves; and though
 orders were issued by the magistrates to arrest
 them, these were executed with such slowness
 and reluctance, that the criminals had, all of
 them, the opportunity of making their escape.

CHARLES, having passed some time at Paris,
 where no assistance was given him, and even
 few civilities were paid him, made his retreat
 into Jersey, where his authority was still acknow-
 ledged. Here, Winram, laird of Liberton, came
 to him as deputy from the committee of estates
 in Scotland, and informed him of the conditions,
 to which he must necessarily submit before he
 could be admitted to the exercise of his authority.
 Conditions more severe were never imposed by
 subjects upon their sovereign; but as the affairs
 of Ireland began to decline, and the king
 found it no longer safe to venture himself in
 that island, he gave a civil answer to Winram,
 and desired commissioners to meet him at Breda,
 in order to enter into a treaty with regard to
 these conditions.

Covenant-
 ers.

THE earls of Cassilis and Lothian, lord Burley,
 the laird of Liberton and other commissioners
 arrived at Breda; but without any power of
 treating: The king must submit without reserve
 to the terms imposed upon him. The terms
 were, that he should issue a proclamation,
 banishing from court all excommunicated persons,
 that is all those, who, either under Hamilton
 or Montrose, had ventured their lives for his

family; that no English subject, who had served against the parliament, should be allowed to approach him; that he should bind himself by his royal promise to take the covenant; that he should ratify all acts of parliament, by which presbyterian government, the directory of worship, the confession of faith, and the catechism were established; and that in civil affairs he should entirely conform himself to the direction of parliament, and in ecclesiastical to that of the assembly. These proposals, the commissioners, after passing some time in sermons and prayers, in order to express the more determined resolution, very solemnly delivered to the king.

THE king's friends were divided with regard to the part, which he should act in this critical conjuncture. Most of his English counsellors dissuaded him from accepting conditions, so disadvantageous and dishonorable. They said, that the men, who now governed Scotland, were the most furious and bigotted of that party, which, notwithstanding his gentle government, had first excited a rebellion against the late king; after the most unlimited concessions, had renewed their rebellion, and stopped the progress of his victories in England, and after he had intrusted his person to them in his uttermost distress, had basely sold him, together with their own honor, to his barbarous enemies. That they had as yet shown no marks of repentance, and even in the terms, which they now proposed, displayed the same antimonarchical principles, and the same jealousy of their

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C H A P. sovereign, by which they had ever been actuated:
 LX. That nothing could be more dishonorable, than
 1650. that the king, in his first enterprize, should sacrifice, merely for the empty name of royalty, those principles, for which his father had died a martyr, and in which he himself had been strictly educated: That by this hypocrisy he might lose the royalists, who alone were sincerely attached to him; but never would gain the presbyterians, who were averse to his family and his cause, and would ascribe his compliance merely to policy and necessity: That the Scots had refused to give him any assurances of their intending to restore him to the throne of England; and could they even be brought to make such an attempt, it had sufficiently appeared, by the event of Hamilton's engagement, how unequal their force was to so great an enterprize: That on the first check, which they should receive, Argyle and his partisans would lay hold of the quickest expedient for reconciling themselves to the English parliament, and would betray the king, as they had done his father, into the hands of his enemies: And that, however desperate the royal cause, it must still be regarded as highly imprudent in the king to make a sacrifice of his honor; where the sole purchase was to endanger his life or liberty.

THE earl of Laneric, now duke of Hamilton, the earl of Lauderdale, and others of that party, who had been banished their country for the late engagement, were then with the king; and being

desirous of returning home in his retinue, they joined the opinion of the young duke of Buckingham, and earnestly pressed him to submit to the conditions required of him. It was urged, that nothing would more gratify the king's enemies than to see him fall into the snare laid for him, and by so scrupulous a nicety, leave the possession of his dominions to those who desired but a pretence for excluding him: That Argyle, not daring so far to oppose the bent of the nation as to throw off all allegiance to his sovereign, had embraced this expedient by which he hoped to make Charles dethrone himself, and refuse a kingdom, which was offered him: That it was not to be doubted, but the same national spirit, assisted by Hamilton and his party, would rise still higher in favor of their prince after he had intrusted himself to their fidelity, and would much abate the rigor of the conditions, now imposed upon him: That whatever might be the present intentions of the ruling party, they must unavoidably be engaged in a war with England, and must accept the assistance of the king's friends of all parties, in order to support themselves against a power, so much superior: That how much soever a steady, uniform conduct might have been suitable to the advanced age, and strict engagements of the late king, no one would throw any blame on a young prince for complying with conditions, which necessity had extorted from him: That even the rigor of those principles, professed by his father,

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though with some it had exalted his character, had been extremely prejudicial to his interests; nor could any thing be more serviceable to the royal cause, than to give all parties room to hope for more equal and more indulgent maxims of government: And that where affairs were reduced to so desperate a situation, dangers ought little to be regarded; and the king's honor lay rather in showing some early symptoms of courage and activity than in chusing strictly a party among theological controversies, with which, it might be supposed, he was, as yet, very little acquainted.

THESE arguments, seconded by the advice of the queen mother and of the prince of Orange, the king's brother in law, who both of them thought it ridiculous to refuse a kingdom merely from regard to episcopacy, had great influence on Charles. But what chiefly determined him to comply, was the account brought him of the fate of Montrose, who, with all the circumstances of rage and contumely, had been put to death by his zealous countrymen. Though in this instance the king saw more evidently the furious spirit, by which the Scots were actuated, he had now no farther resource, and was obliged to grant whatever was demanded of him.

MONTROSE, having laid down his arms at the command of the late king, had retired into France, and, contrary to his natural disposition, had lived for some time unactive at Paris. He there became acquainted with the famous cardi-

nal de Retz; and that penetrating judge celebrates him in his memoirs as one of those heroes, of whom there are no longer any remains in the world, and who are only to be met with in Plutarch. Desirous of improving his martial genius, he took a journey to Germany, was carested by the emperor, received the rank of marechal, and proposed to levy a regiment for the Imperial service. While employed for that purpose in the Low Countries, he heard of the tragical death of the king; and at the same time received from his young master a renewal of his commission of captain general in Scotland⁹. His ardent and daring spirit needed but this authority to put him in action. He gathered followers in Holland and the north of Germany, whom his great reputation allured to him. The king of Denmark and duke of Holstein sent him some small supply of money: The queen of Sweden furnished him with arms: The prince of Orange with ships: And Montrose, hastening his enterprise, lest the king's agreement with the Scots should make him revoke his commission, set out for the Orkneys with about 500 men, most of them Germans. These were all the preparations, which he could make against a kingdom, settled in domestic peace, supported by a disciplined army, fully apprized of his enterprise, and prepared against him. Some of his retainers having told him of a prophecy, that *to him and*

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⁹ Burnet, Clarendon.

CHAP. *him alone it was reserved to restore the king's authority*
 LX. *in all his dominions; he lent a willing ear to sug-*
 1650. *gestions, which, however ill grounded or*
improbable, were so conformable to his own
daring character.

HE armed several of the inhabitants of the Orkneys, though an unwarlike people, and carried them over with him to Caithness; hoping, that the general affection to the king's service, and the fame of his former exploits, would make the Highlanders flock to his standard. But all men were now harassed and fatigued with wars and disorders: Many of those, who formerly adhered to him, had been severely punished by the covenanters: And no prospect of success was entertained in opposition to so great a force as was drawn together against him. But however weak Montrose's army, the memory of past events struck a great terror into the committee of estates. They immediately ordered Lesley and Holborne to march against him with an army of 4000 men. Strahan was sent before with a body of cavalry to check his progress. He fell unexpectedly on Montrose, who had no horse to bring him intelligence. The royalists were put to flight; all of them either killed or taken prisoners; and Montrose himself, having put on the disguise of a peasant, was perfidiously delivered into the hands of his enemies, by a friend, to whom he had intrusted his person.

Montrose
taken pri-
soner.

ALL the insolence, which success can produce in ungenerous minds, was exercised by the
 covenanters

covenanters against Montrose, whom they so much hated and so much dreaded. Theological antipathy farther increased their indignities towards a person, whom they regarded as impious on account of the excommunication, which had been pronounced against him. Lesley led him about for several days in the same low habit, under which he had disguised himself. The vulgar, wherever he passed, were instigated to reproach and vilify him. When he came to Edinburgh, every circumstance of elaborate rage and insult was put in practice by order of the parliament. At the gate of the city, he was met by the magistrates, and put into a new cart, purposely made with a high chair or bench, where he was placed, that the people might have a full view of him. He was bound with a cord, drawn over his breast and shoulders, and fastened through holes made in the cart. The hangman then took off the hat of the noble prisoner, and rode himself before the cart in his livery, and with his bonnet on; the other officers, who were taken prisoners with the marquis, walking two and two before them.

THE populace, more generous and humane, when they saw so mighty a change of fortune in this great man, so lately their dread and terror, into whose hands the magistrates, a few years before, had delivered on their knees the keys of the city, were struck with compassion, and viewed him with silent tears and admiration. The preachers, next Sunday, exclaimed against this

C H A P. movement of rebel nature, as they termed it;
 LX. and reproached the people with their profane
 1650. tenderness towards the capital enemy of piety and religion.

WHEN he was carried before the parliament, which was then sitting, Loudon, the chancellor, in a violent declamation, reproached him with the breach of the national covenant, which he had subscribed; his rebellion against God, the king, and the kingdom; and the many horrible murders, treasons, and impieties, for which he was now to be brought to condign punishment. Montrose in his answer maintained the same superiority above his enemies, to which, by his fame and great actions, as well as by the consciousness of a good cause, he was justly entitled. He told the parliament, that, since the king, as he was informed, had so far avowed their authority as to enter into treaty with them, he now appeared uncovered before their tribunal; a respect, which, while they stood in open defiance to their sovereign, they would in vain have required of him. That he acknowledged, with infinite shame and remorse, the errors of his early conduct, when their plausible pretences had seduced him to tread with them the paths of rebellion, and bear arms against his prince and country. That his following services, he hoped, had sufficiently testified his repentance; and his death would now atone for that guilt, the only one with which he could justly reproach himself. That in all his warlike enterprises he was war-

ranted by that commission, which he had received from his and their master, against whose lawful authority they had erected their standard. That to venture his life for his sovereign was the least part of his merit: He had even thrown down his arms in obedience to the sacred commands of the king; and had resigned to them the victory, which, in defiance of all their efforts, he was still enabled to dispute with them. That no blood had ever been shed by him but in the field of battle; and many persons were now in his eye, many now dared to pronounce sentence of death upon him, whose life, forfeited by the laws of war, he had formerly saved from the fury of the soldiers. That he was sorry to find no better testimony of their return to allegiance than the murder of so faithful a subject, in whose death the king's commission must be, at once, so highly injured and affronted. That as to himself, they had in vain endeavoured to vilify and degrade him by all their studied indignities: The justice of his cause, he knew, would ennoble any fortune; nor had he other affliction than to see the authority of his prince, with which he was invested, treated with so much ignominy. And that he now joyfully followed, by a like unjust sentence, his late sovereign; and should be happy, if, in his future destiny, he could follow him to the same blissful mansions, where his piety and humane virtues had already, without doubt, secured him an eternal recompence.

MONTROSE'S sentence was next pronounced

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against him, "That he, James Graham" (for this was the only name they vouchsafed to give him) "should next day be carried to Edinburgh-crofs, and there be hanged on a gibbet, thirty feet high, for the space of three hours: Then be taken down, his head be cut off upon a scaffold, and affixed to the prison: His legs and arms be stuck up on the four chief towns of the kingdom: His body be buried in the place appropriated for common malefactors; except the church, upon his repentance, should take off his excommunication."

THE clergy, hoping, that the terrors of immediate death had now given them an advantage over their enemy, flocked about him, and insulted over his fallen fortunes. They pronounced his damnation, and assured him, that the judgment, which he was so soon to suffer, would prove but an easy prologue to that which he must undergo hereafter. They next offered to pray with him: But he was too well acquainted with those forms of imprecation, which they called prayers. "Lord, vouchsafe yet to touch the obdurate heart of this proud incorrigible sinner; this wicked, perjured, traiterous, and profane person, who refuses to hearken to the voice of thy church." Such were the petitions, which, he expected, they would, according to custom, offer up for him. He told them, that they were a miserably deluded and deluding people; and would shortly bring their country under the most insupportable servitude, to which any

nation had ever been reduced. "For my part," added he, "I am much prouder to have my head affixed to the place, where it is sentenced to stand, than to have my picture hang in the king's bed-chamber. So far from being sorry, that my quarters are to be sent to four cities of the kingdom; I wish I had limbs enow to be dispersed into all the cities of Christendom, there to remain as testimonies in favor of the cause, for which I suffer." This sentiment, that very evening, while in prison, he threw into verse. The poem remains; a signal monument of his heroic spirit, and no despicable proof of his poetical genius.

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Now was led forth, amidst the insults of his enemies and the tears of the people, this man of illustrious birth and of the greatest renown in the nation, to suffer, for his adhering to the laws of his country, and the rights of his sovereign, the ignominious death destined to the meanest malefactor. Every attempt, which the insolence of the governing party had made to subdue his spirit, had hitherto proved fruitless: They made yet one effort more, in this last and melancholy scene, when all enmity, arising from motives merely human, is commonly softened and disarmed. The executioner brought that book, which had been published in elegant Latin of his great military actions, and tied it by a cord about his neck. Montrose smiled at this new instance of their malice. He thanked them, however, for their officious zeal; and said, that he bore

21st May.

C H A P. this testimony of his bravery and loyalty with
 LX. more pride than he had ever worn the garter.
 1650. Having asked, whether they had any more indignities to put upon him, and renewing some devout ejaculations, he patiently endured the last act of the executioner.

Executed.

THUS perished, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, the gallant marquis of Montrose; the man whose military genius, both by valor and conduct, had shone forth beyond any, which, during these civil disorders, had appeared in the three kingdoms. The finer arts too, he had, in his youth, successfully cultivated; and whatever was sublime, elegant, or noble touched his great soul. Nor was he insensible to the pleasures either of society or of love. Something, however, of the *vast* and *unbounded* characterized his actions and deportment; and it was merely by an heroic effort of duty, that he brought his mind, impatient of superiority, and even of equality, to pay such unlimited submission to the will of his sovereign.

THE vengeance of the covenanters was not satisfied with Montrose's execution. Urrey, whose inconstancy now led him to take part with the king, suffered about the same time: Spotiswood of Daerlie, a youth of eighteen, Sir Francis Hay of Dalgetie, and colonel Sibbald, all of them of birth and character, underwent a like fate. These were taken prisoners with Montrose. The Marquis of Huntley, about a year before, had also fallen a victim to the severity of the covenanters.

THE past scene displays in a full light the barbarity of this theological faction: The sequel will sufficiently display their absurdity.

THE king, in consequence of his agreement with the commissioners of Scotland, set sail for that country; and being escorted by seven Dutch ships of war, who were sent to guard the herring fishery, he arrived in the frith of Cromarty. Before he was permitted to land, he was required to sign the covenant; and many sermons and lectures were made him, exhorting him to persevere in that holy confederacy¹⁰. Hamilton, Lauderdale, Dumfermling, and other noblemen of that party whom they called Engagers, were immediately separated from him, and obliged to retire to their houses, where they lived in a private manner, without trust or authority. None of his English friends, who had served his father, were allowed to remain in the kingdom. The king himself found, that he was considered as a mere pageant of state, and that the few remains of royalty, which he possessed, served only to draw on him the greater indignities. One of the quarters of Montrose, his faithful servant, who had borne his commission, had been sent to Aberdeen, and was still allowed to hang over the gates when he passed by that place¹¹. The general assembly, and afterwards the committee of estates and the army, who were entirely go-

C H A P.

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1650.

23d June.

Covenant-
ers.

¹⁰ Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 159.

¹¹ Ibid.

C H A P. LX.
1650. vernaed by the assembly, fet forth a public declaration, in which they protested, " that they did
" not espouse any malignant quarrel or party, but
" fought merely on their former grounds or principles ; that they disclaimed all the sins and
" guilt of the king, and of his house; nor would
" they own him or his interest, otherwise than
" with a subordination to God, and so far as
" he owned and prosecuted the cause of God,
" and acknowledged the sins of his house, and
" of his former ways ¹². "

16th Aug.

THE king, lying entirely at mercy, and having no assurance of life or liberty, farther than was agreeable to the fancy of these austere zealots, was constrained to embrace a measure, which nothing but the necessity of his affairs, and his great youth and inexperience could excuse. He issued a declaration, such as they required of him ¹³. He there gave thanks for the merciful dispensations of providence, by which he was recovered from the snare of evil counsel, had attained a full persuasion of the righteousness of the covenant, and was induced to cast himself and his interests wholly upon God. He desired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit, because of his father's following wicked measures, opposing the covenant and the work of reformation, and shedding the blood of God's people throughout all his dominions. He lamented the idolatry of his mother and the toleration of it

¹² Sir E. Walker, p. 166, 167.

¹³ Ibid. p. 170.

in his father's house; a matter of great offence, he said, to all the protestant churches, and a great provocation to him who is a jealous God, visiting the sins of the father upon the children. He professed, that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant; and that he detested all popery, superstition, prelacy, heresy, schism, and profaneness; and was resolved not to tolerate, much less to countenance, any of them in any of his dominions. He declared, that he should never love or favor those who had so little conscience as to follow his interests, in preference to the gospel and the kingdom of Jesus Christ. And he expressed his hope, that, whatever ill success his former guilt might have drawn upon his cause, yet now, having obtained mercy to be on God's side, and to acknowledge his own cause subordinate to that of God, divine providence would crown his arms with victory.

STILL the covenanters and the clergy were diffident of the king's sincerity. The facility, which he discovered in yielding whatever was required of him, made them suspect, that he regarded all his concessions merely as ridiculous farces, to which he must of necessity submit. They had another trial prepared for him. Instead of the solemnity of his coronation, which was delayed, they were resolved, that he should pass through a public humiliation, and do penance before the whole people. They sent him twelve articles of repentance, which he was to acknowledge; and the king had agreed, that he would

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LX.

1650

C H A P. submit to this indignity. The various transgressions of his father and grandfather, together with the idolatry of his mother, are again enumerated and aggravated in these articles; and farther declarations were insisted on, that he sought the restoration of his rights, for the sole advancement of religion, and in subordination to the kingdom of Christ ¹⁴. In short, having exalted the altar above the throne, and brought royalty under their feet, the clergy were resolved to trample on it and vilify it, by every instance of contumely, which their present influence enabled them to impose upon their unhappy prince.

CHARLES in the mean time found his authority entirely annihilated, as well as his character degraded. He was consulted in no public measure. He was not called to assist at any councils. His favor was sufficient to discredit any pretender to office or advancement. All efforts, which he made to unite the opposite parties, increased the suspicion, which the covenanters had entertained of him, as if he were not entirely their own. Argyle, who, by subtleties and compliances, partly led and partly was governed by this wild faction, still turned a deaf ear to all advances, which the king made to enter into confidence with him. *Malignants* and *Engagers* continued to be the objects of general hatred and persecution; and whoever was obnoxious to the clergy, failed not to have one or other of these epithets affixed

¹⁴ Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 178.

to him. The fanaticism, which prevailed, being so full of sour and angry principles, and so overcharged with various antipathies, had acquired a new object of abhorrence: These were the *Sorcerers*. So prevalent was the opinion of witchcraft, that great numbers, accused of that crime, were burnt by sentence of the magistrates throughout all parts of Scotland. In a village near Berwic, which contained only fourteen houses, fourteen persons were punished by fire¹⁵; and it became a science, every where much studied and cultivated, to distinguish a true witch by proper trials and symptoms¹⁶.

THE advance of the English army under Cromwel was not able to appease or soften the animosities among the parties in Scotland. The clergy were still resolute to exclude all but their most zealous adherents. As soon as the English parliament found, that the treaty between the king and the Scots would probably terminate in an accommodation, they made preparations for a war, which, they saw, would, in the end, prove inevitable. Cromwel, having broken the force and courage of the Irish, was sent for; and he left the command of Ireland to Ireton, who governed that kingdom in the character of deputy, and with vigilance and industry persevered in the work of subduing and expelling the natives.

It was expected, that Fairfax, who still retained the name of general, would continue to

¹⁵ Whitlocke, p. 434. 438.

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 396. 418.

C H A P. LX.
1650. act against Scotland, and appear at the head of the forces; a station for which he was well qualified, and where alone he made any figure. But Fairfax, though he had allowed the army to make use of his name in murdering their sovereign, and offering violence to the parliament, had entertained unfurmountable scruples against invading the Scots, whom he considered as zealous presbyterians, and united to England by the sacred bands of the covenant. He was farther disgusted at the extremities, into which he had already been hurried; and was confirmed in his repugnance by the exhortations of his wife, who had great influence over him, and was herself much governed by the presbyterian clergy. A committee of parliament was sent to reason with him; and Cromwel was of the number. In vain did they urge, that the Scots had first broken the covenant by their invasion of England under Hamilton; and that they would surely renew their hostile attempts, if not prevented by the vigorous measures of the commonwealth. Cromwel, who knew the rigid inflexibility of Fairfax, in every thing, which he regarded as matter of principle, ventured to solicit him with the utmost earnestness; and he went so far as to shed tears of grief and vexation on the occasion. No one could suspect any ambition in the man, who labored so zealously to retain his general in that high office, which, he knew, he himself was alone entitled to fill. The same warmth of temper, which made Cromwel a frantic enthusiast,

rendered him the most dangerous of hypocrites; and it was to this turn of mind, as much as to his courage and capacity, that he owed all his wonderful successes. By the contagious ferment of his zeal, he engaged every one to co-operate with him in his measures; and entering easily and affectionately into every part, which he was disposed to act, he was enabled, even after multiplied deceits, to cover, under a tempest of passion, all his crooked schemes and profound artifices.

FAIRFAX having resigned his commission, it was bestowed on Cromwel, who was declared captain-general of all the forces in England. This command, in a commonwealth, which stood entirely by arms, was of the utmost importance; and was the chief step, which this ambitious politician had yet made towards sovereign power. He immediately marched his forces, and entered Scotland with an army of 16,000 men.

THE command of the Scottish army was given to Lesley, an experienced officer, who formed a very proper plan of defence. He intrenched himself in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, and took care to remove from the counties of Merse and the Lothians every thing which could serve to the subsistence of the English army. Cromwel advanced to the Scotch camp, and endeavoured, by every expedient, to bring Lesley to a battle: The prudent Scotchman knew, that, though superior in numbers, his army was much inferior in discipline to the

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LX.
1650.

C H A P. LX. 1650. English; and he carefully kept himself within his intrenchments. By skirmishes and small rencounters he tried to confirm the spirits of his soldiers; and he was successful in these enterprises. His army daily increased both in numbers and courage. The king came to the camp; and having exerted himself in an action, gained on the affections of the soldiery, who were more desirous of serving under a young prince of spirit and vivacity than under a committee of talking gownmen. The clergy were alarmed. They ordered Charles immediately to leave the camp. They also purged it carefully of about 4000 *Malignants* and *Engagers*, whose zeal had led them to attend the king, and who were the soldiers of chief credit and experience in the nation¹⁷. They then concluded, that they had an army composed entirely of saints, and could not be beaten. They murmured extremely, not only against their prudent general, but also against the Lord, on account of his delays in giving them deliverance¹⁸; and they plainly told him, that, if he would not save them from the English sectaries, he should no longer be their God¹⁹. An advantage having offered itself on a Sunday, they hindered the general from making use of it, lest he should involve the nation in the guilt of sabbath-breaking.

CROMWEL found himself in a very bad situa-

¹⁷ Sir. Edw. Walker, p. 165.

¹⁸ Id. p. 168.

¹⁹ Whitlocke, p. 449.

tion. He had no provisions but what he received by sea. He had not had the precaution to bring these in sufficient quantities; and his army was reduced to difficulties. He retired to Dunbar. Lesley followed him and encamped on the heights of Lamermure, which overlook that town. There lay many difficult passes between Dunbar and Berwic, and of these Lesley had taken possession. The English general was reduced to extremities. He had even embraced a resolution of sending by sea all his foot and artillery to England, and of breaking through, at all hazards, with his cavalry. The madness of the Scottish ecclesiastics saved him from this loss and dishonor.

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1650.

NIGHT and day the ministers had been wrestling with the Lord in prayer, as they termed it; and they fancied, that they had at last obtained the victory. Revelations, they said, were made them, that the sectarian and heretical army, together with Agag, meaning Cromwel, was delivered into their hands. Upon the faith of these visions, they forced their general, in spite of his remonstrances, to descend into the plain, with a view of attacking the English in their retreat. Cromwel, looking through a glass, saw the enemy's camp in motion; and foretold, without the help of revelations, that the Lord had delivered them into *his* hands. He gave orders immediately for an attack. In this battle it was easily observed, that nothing, in military actions, can supply the place of discipline and

Battle of
Dunbar.

3d Septemb.

G H A P. experience; and that, in the presence of real
 LX. danger, where men are not accustomed to it,
 1650. the fumes of enthusiasm presently dissipate, and
 lose their influence. The Scots, though double in
 number to the English, were soon put to flight,
 and pursued with great slaughter. The chief, if
 not only resistance was made by one regiment of
 Highlanders, that part of the army, which was
 the least infected with fanaticism. No victory
 could be more complete than this which was
 obtained by Cromwel. About 3000 of the enemy
 were slain, and 9000 taken prisoners. Cromwel
 pursued his advantage, and took possession of
 Edinburgh and Leith. The remnant of the Scottish
 army fled to Sterling. The approach of the winter
 season, and an ague, which seized Cromwel,
 kept him from pushing the victory any farther.

THE clergy made great lamentations, and told
 the Lord, that to them it was little to sacrifice
 their lives and estates, but to him it was a great
 loss to suffer his elect to be destroyed²⁰. They
 published a declaration, containing the cause of
 their late misfortunes. These visitations they
 ascribed to the manifold provocations of the
 king's house, of which, they feared, he had not
 yet thoroughly repented; the secret intrusion of
 malignants into the king's family and even into
 the camp; the leaving of a most malignant and
 profane guard of horse, who, being sent for to
 be purged, came two days before the defeat,

²⁰ Sir Edward Walker.

and were allowed to fight with the army; the owning of the king's quarrel by many without subordination to religion and liberty; and the carnal self-seeking of some, together with the neglect of family prayers by others.

CROMWEL, having been so successful in the war of the sword, took up the pen against the Scottish ecclesiastics. He wrote them some polemical letters, in which he maintained the chief points of the independent theology. He took care likewise to retort on them their favorite argument of providence; and asked them, whether the Lord had not declared against them. But the ministers thought, that the same events, which to their enemies were judgments, to them were trials; and they replied, that the Lord had only hid his face, for a time, from Jacob. But Cromwel insisted, that the appeal had been made to God in the most express and solemn manner, and that, in the fields of Dunbar, an irrevocable decision had been awarded in favor of the English army ²¹.

²¹ This is the best of Cromwel's wretched compositions that remains, and we shall here extract a passage out of it. "You say you have not so learned Christ as to hang the equity of your cause upon events. We could wish that blindness had not been upon your eyes to all those marvellous dispensations, which God had wrought lately in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? And ought not we and you to think, with fear and trembling, of the hand of the great God, in this mighty and strange appearance of his, but can slightly call it an event? Were not both

C H A P.

LX.

1651.

1st January.

THE defeat of the Scots was regarded by the king as a fortunate event. The armies, which fought on both sides, were almost equally his enemies; and the vanquished were now obliged to give him some more authority, and apply to him for support. The parliament was summoned to meet at St. Johnstone's. Hamilton, Lauderdale and all the Engagers were admitted into court and camp, on condition of doing public penance, and expressing repentance for their late transgressions. Some Malignants also crept in under various pretences. The intended humiliation or penance of the king was changed into the ceremony of his coronation, which was performed at Scone with great pomp and solemnity. But amidst all this appearance of respect, Charles remained in the hands of the most rigid Covenanters: And though treated with civility and courtesy by Argyle, a man of parts and address, he was little better than a prisoner, and was still

“ your and our expectations renewed from time to time,
 “ while we waited on God, to see which way he would
 “ manifest himself upon our appeals? And shall we, after
 “ all these our prayers, fastings, tears, expectations and
 “ solemn appeals, call these mere events? The Lord pity
 “ you! Surely we fear, because it has been a merciful and
 “ a gracious deliverance to us.

“ I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, search after
 “ the mind of the Lord in it towards you, and we shall
 “ help you by our prayers that you may find it. For yet, if
 “ we know our heart at all, our bowels do in Christ yearn after
 “ the godly in Scotland.”

Thurloe, vol. i. p. 158.

exposed to all the rudeness and pedantry of the ecclesiastics.

C H A P.

LX.

1651.

THIS young prince was in a situation, which very ill suited his temper and disposition. All those good qualities which he possessed, his affability, his wit, his gaiety, his gentleman-like, disengaged behaviour, were here so many vices; and his love of ease, liberty, and pleasure was regarded as the highest enormity. Though artful in the practice of courtly dissimulation, the sanctified style was utterly unknown to him; and he never could mould his deportment into that starched grimace, which the covenanters required as an infallible mark of conversion. The duke of Buckingham was the only English courtier allowed to attend him; and by his ingenious talent for ridicule, he had rendered himself extremely agreeable to his master. While so many objects of derision surrounded them, it was difficult to be altogether insensible to the temptation, and wholly to suppress the laugh. Obligated to attend from morning to night at prayers and sermons, they betrayed evident symptoms of weariness or contempt. The clergy never could esteem the king sufficiently regenerated: And by continual exhortations, remonstrances, and reprimands, they still endeavoured to bring him to a juster sense of his spiritual duty.

THE king's passion for the fair could not altogether be restrained. He had once been observed using some familiarities with a young woman; and a committee of ministers was appointed to

C H A P. reprove him for a behaviour so unbecoming a
LX. covenanted monarch. The spokesman of the
1651. committee, one Douglass, began with a severe
 aspect, informed the king that great scandal had
 been given to the godly, enlarged on the
 heinous nature of sin, and concluded with exhort-
 ing his majesty, whenever he was disposed to
 amuse himself, to be more careful, for the future,
 in shutting the windows. This delicacy, so
 unusual to the place and to the character of the
 man, was remarked by the king; and he never
 forgot the obligation.

THE king, shocked at all the indignities, and
 perhaps, still more tired with all the formalities,
 to which he was obliged to submit, made an
 attempt to regain his liberty. General Middleton,
 at the head of some royalists, being proscribed
 by the covenanters, kept in the mountains,
 expecting some opportunity of serving his master.
 The king resolved to join this body. He secretly
 made his escape from Argyle, and fled towards
 the Highlands. Colonel Montgomery, with a
 troop of horse, was sent in pursuit of him. He
 overtook the king, and persuaded him to return.
 The royalists being too weak to support him,
 Charles was the more easily induced to comply.
 This incident procured him afterwards better
 treatment and more authority; the covenanters
 being afraid of driving him, by their rigors, to
 some desperate resolution. Argyle renewed his
 courtship to the king, and the king, with equal
 dissimulation, pretended to repose great confidence

in Argyle. He even went so far as to drop hints of his intention to marry that nobleman's daughter: But he had to do with a man too wise to be seduced by such gross artifices.

C H A P.
LX.
1651.

As soon as the season would permit, the Scottish army was assembled under Hamilton and Lesley; and the king was allowed to join the camp. The forces of the western counties, notwithstanding the imminent danger, which threatened their country, were resolute not to unite their cause with that of an army, which admitted any engagers or malignants among them; and they kept in a body apart under Ker. They called themselves the *Protesters*; and their frantic clergy declaimed equally against the king and against Cromwel. The other party were denominated *Resolutioners*; and these distinctions continued long after to divide and agitate the kingdom.

CHARLES encamped at the Torwood; and his generals resolved to conduct themselves by the same cautious maxims, which, so long as they were embraced, had been successful during the former campaign. The town of Stirling lay at his back, and the whole north supplied him with provisions. Strong intrenchments defended his front; and it was in vain that Cromwel made every attempt to bring him to an engagement. After losing much time, the English general sent Lambert over the frith into Fife, with an intention of cutting off the provisions of the enemy. Lambert fell upon Holborne and Brown, who

C H A P. commanded a party of the Scots, and put them
 LX. to rout with great slaughter. Cromwel also passed
 1651. over with his whole army; and lying at the
 back of the king, made it impossible for him to
 keep his post any longer.

CHARLES, reduced to despair, embraced a resolution worthy of a young prince contending for empire. Having the way open, he resolved immediately to march into England; where he expected, that all his friends, and all those who were discontented with the present government, would flock to his standard. He persuaded the generals to enter into the same views; and with one consent the army, to the number of 14,000 men, rose from their camp, and advanced by great journies towards the south.

CROMWEL was surpris'd at this movement of the royal army. Wholly intent on offending his enemy, he had expos'd his friends to imminent danger, and saw the king with numerous forces marching into England; where his presence, from the general hatred which prevail'd against the parliament, was capable of producing some great revolution. But if this conduct was an oversight in Cromwel, he quickly repaired it by his vigilance and activity. He dispatch'd letters to the parliament, exhorting them, not to be dismayed at the approach of the Scots: He sent orders every where for assembling forces to oppose the king: He order'd Lambert with a body of cavalry to hang upon the rear of the royal army, and infest their march: And he himself, leaving

Monk with 7000 men to complete the reduction of Scotland, followed the king with all the expedition possible.

CHARLES found himself disappointed in his expectations of increasing his army. The Scots, terrified at the prospect of so hazardous an enterprise, fell off in great numbers. The English presbyterians, having no warning given them of the king's approach, were not prepared to join him. To the royalists, this measure was equally unexpected; and they were farther deterred from joining the Scottish army by the orders, which the committee of ministers had issued, not to admit any, even in this desperate extremity, who would not subscribe the covenant. The earl of Derby, leaving the isle of Man, where he had hitherto maintained his independence, was employed in levying forces in Cheshire and Lancashire; but was soon suppressed by a party of the parliamentary army. And the king, when he arrived at Worcester, found, that his forces, extremely harassed by a hasty and fatiguing march, were not more numerous, than when he rose from his camp in the Torwood.

SUCH is the influence of established government, that the commonwealth, though founded in usurpation the most unjust and unpopular, had authority sufficient to raise every where the militia of the counties; and these, united with the regular forces, bent all their efforts against the king. With an army of about 30,000 men, Crom-

C H A P.
LX.
1651.

3d Sept.

C H A P.

LX.

1651.

Battle of
Worcester.

fides, and meeting with little resistance except from duke Hamilton and general Middleton, broke in upon the disordered royalists. The streets of the city were strowed with dead. Hamilton, a nobleman of bravery and honor, was mortally wounded; Massey wounded and taken prisoner; the king himself, having given many proofs of personal valor, was obliged to fly. The whole Scottish army was either killed or taken prisoners. The country people, inflamed with national antipathy, put to death the few that escaped from the field of battle.

The king's
escape.

THE king left Worcester at six o'clock in the afternoon, and without halting, travelled about twenty-six miles, in company with fifty or sixty of his friends. To provide for his safety, he thought it best to separate himself from his companions; and he left them without communicating his intentions to any of them. By the earl of Derby's directions, he went to Boscobel, a lone house in the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Penderel, a farmer. To this man Charles intrusted himself. The man had dignity of sentiments much above his condition; and though death was denounced against all who concealed the king, and a great reward promised to any one who should betray him, he professed and maintained unshaken fidelity. He took the assistance of his four brothers, equally honorable with himself; and having clothed the king in a garb like their own, they led him into the neighbouring wood, put a bill into his hand,

and pretended to employ themselves in cutting faggots. Some nights he lay upon straw in the house, and fed on such homely fare as it afforded. For a better concealment, he mounted upon an oak, where he sheltered himself among the leaves and branches for twenty - four hours. He saw several soldiers pass by. All of them were intent in search of the king; and some expressed in his hearing their earnest wishes of seizing him. This tree was afterwards denominated the *Royal Oak*; and for many years was regarded by the neighbourhood with great veneration.

CHARLES was in the middle of the kingdom, and could neither stay in his retreat, nor stir a step from it, without the most imminent danger. Fears, hopes, and party zeal interested multitudes to discover him; and even the smallest indiscretion of his friends might prove fatal. Having joined lord Wilmot, who was skulking in the neighbourhood, they agreed to put themselves into the hands of colonel Lane, a zealous royalist, who lived at Bentley, not many miles distant. The king's feet were so hurt by walking about in heavy boots or countrymen's shoes which did not fit him, that he was obliged to mount on horseback; and he travelled in this situation to Bentley, attended by the Penderels, who had been so faithful to him. Lane formed a scheme for his journey to Bristol, where, it was hoped, he would find a ship, in which he might transport himself. He had a near kinswoman, Mrs. Norton, who lived within three miles of that city, and

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C H A P. was with child, very near the time of her delivery.
 LX. He obtained a pass (for during those times of
 1651. confusion this precaution was requisite) for his
 sister Jane Lane and a servant, to travel towards
 Bristol, under pretence of visiting and attending
 her relation. The king rode before the lady,
 and personated the servant.

WHEN they arrived at Norton's, Mrs. Lane
 pretended that she had brought along as her
 servant, a poor lad, a neighbouring farmer's son,
 who was ill of an ague; and she begged a private
 room for him, where he might be quiet. Though
 Charles kept himself retired in this chamber, the
 butler, one Pope, soon knew him: The king
 was alarmed, but made the butler promise that
 he would keep the secret from every mortal,
 even from his master; and he was faithful to his
 engagement.

No ship, it was found, would, for a month,
 set sail from Bristol, either for France or Spain;
 and the king was obliged to go elsewhere for a
 passage. He intrusted himself to colonel Wind-
 ham of Dorsetshire, an affectionate partisan of the
 royal family. The natural effect of the long civil
 wars and of the furious rage, to which all men
 were wrought up in their different factions, was,
 that every one's inclinations and affections were
 thoroughly known, and even the courage and
 fidelity of most men, by the variety of incidents,
 had been put to trial. The royalists too had,
 many of them, been obliged to make concealments
 in their houses for themselves, their friends, or

more valuable effects; and the arts of eluding the enemy had been frequently practised. All these circumstances proved favorable to the king in the present exigence. As he often passed through the hands of catholics, the *Priest's hole*, as they called it, the place, where they were obliged to conceal their persecuted priests, was sometimes employed for sheltering their distressed sovereign.

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WINDHAM, before he received the king, asked leave to intrust the important secret to his mother, his wife, and four servants, on whose fidelity he could rely. Of all these, no one proved wanting either in honor or discretion. The venerable old matron, on the reception of her royal guest, expressed the utmost joy, that having lost, without regret, three sons and one grandchild in defence of his father, she was now reserved, in her declining years, to be instrumental in the preservation of himself. Windham told the king, that Sir Thomas, his father, in the year 1636, a few days before his death, called to him his five sons. "My children," said he, "we have hitherto seen serene and quiet times under our three last sovereigns: But I must now warn you to prepare for clouds and storms. Factions arise on every side, and threaten the tranquillity of your native country. But whatever happen, do you faithfully honor and obey your prince, and adhere to the crown. I charge you never to forsake the crown, though it should hang upon a bush."

C H A P. " These last words, " added Windham, " made
 LX. " such impressions on all our breasts, that the
 1651. " many afflictions of these sad times could never
 " efface their indelible characters. " From in-
 numerable instances it appears how deep rooted
 in the minds of the English gentry of that age
 was the principle of loyalty to their sovereign;
 that noble and generous principle, inferior only
 in excellence to the more enlarged and more
 enlightened affection towards a legal constitution.
 But during those times of military usurpation,
 these passions were the same.

THE king continued several days in Windham's house; and all his friends in Britain and in every part of Europe, remained in the most anxious suspense with regard to his fortunes: No one could conjecture whether he were dead or alive; and the report of his death, being generally believed, happily relaxed the vigilant search of his enemies. Trials were made to procure a vessel for his escape; but he still met with disappointments. Having left Windham's house, he was obliged again to return to it. He passed through many other adventures; assumed different disguises; in every step was exposed to imminent perils; and received daily proofs of uncorrupted fidelity and attachment. The sagacity of a smith, who remarked, that his horse's shoes had been made in the north, not in the west, as he pretended, once detected him; and he narrowly escaped. At Shoreham in Sussex a vessel was at last found, in which he embarked. He had been

known to so many, that if he had not set sail in that critical moment, it had been impossible for him to escape. After one-and-forty days concealment, he arrived safely at Fescamp in Normandy. No less than forty men and women had at different times been privy to his concealment and escape ²².

THE battle of Worcester afforded Cromwell what he called his *crowning mercy* ²³. So elated was he, that he intended to have knighted in the field two of his generals, Lambert and Fleetwood; but was dissuaded by his friends from exerting this act of regal authority. His power and ambition were too great to brook submission to the empty name of a republic, which stood chiefly by his influence, and was supported by his victories. How early he entertained thoughts of taking into his hand the reins of government is uncertain. We are only assured, that he now discovered to his intimate friends these aspiring views; and even expressed a desire of assuming the rank of king, which he had contributed, with such seeming zeal, to abolish ²⁴.

THE little popularity and credit, acquired by the republicans, farther stimulated the ambition of this enterprising politician. These men had not that large thought, nor those comprehensive views, which might qualify them for acting the part of legislators: Selfish aims and bigotry chiefly

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²² Heathe's Chronicle, p. 301.

²³ Parl. Hist. vol. xx, p. 47. ²⁴ Whitlocke, p. 523.

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1651. engrossed their attention. They carried their rigid austerity so far as to enact a law, declaring fornication, after the first act, to be felony, without benefit of clergy ²⁵. They made small progress in that important work, which they professed to have so much at heart, the settling of a new model of representation, and fixing a plan of government. The nation began to apprehend, that they intended to establish themselves as a perpetual legislature, and to confine the whole power to 60 or 70 persons, who called themselves the parliament of the commonwealth of England. And while they pretended to bestow new liberties upon the nation, they found themselves obliged to infringe even the most valuable of those, which, through time immemorial, had been transmitted from their ancestors. Not daring to intrust the trials of treason to juries, who, being chosen indifferently from among the people, would have been little favorable to the commonwealth, and would have formed their verdict upon the ancient laws, they eluded that noble institution, by which the government of this island has ever been so much distinguished. They had evidently seen in the trial of Lilburn what they could expect from juries. This man, the most turbulent, but the most upright and courageous of human kind, was tried for a transgression of the new statute

²⁵ Scobel, p. 121. A bill was introduced into the house against painting, patches, and other immodest dress of women; but it did not pass. Parl. Hist. vol. xix. p. 263.

of treasons: But though he was plainly guilty, c H A P.
 he was acquitted, to the great joy of the people. LX.
 Westminster-hall, nay the whole city, rang with 1651.
 shouts and acclamations. Never did any estab-
 lished power receive so strong a declaration of
 its usurpation and invalidity; and from no insti-
 tution, besides the admirable one of juries, could
 be expected this magnanimous effort.

THAT they might not for the future be exposed
 to affronts, which so much lessened their author-
 ity, the parliament erected a high court of justice,
 which was to receive indictments from the council
 of state. This court was composed of men,
 devoted to the ruling party, without name or
 character, determined to sacrifice every thing to
 their own safety or ambition. Colonel Eusebius
 Andrews, and colonel Walter Slingsby were tried
 by this court for conspiracies, and condemned to
 death. They were royalists, and refused to plead
 before so illegal a jurisdiction. Love, Gibbons,
 and other presbyterians, having entered into a
 plot against the republic, were also tried, con-
 demned, and executed. The earl of Derby,
 Sir Timothy Featherstone, Bemboe, being taken
 prisoners after the battle of Worcester, were put
 to death by sentence of a court martial: A method
 of proceeding declared illegal by that very pe-
 tition of right, for which a former parliament
 had so strenuously contended, and which, after
 great efforts, they had extorted from the king.

EXCEPTING their principles of toleration, the
 maxims, by which the republicans regulated

C H A P. ecclesiastical affairs, no more prognosticated any
 LX. durable settlement, than those by which they
 1651. conducted their civil concerns. The presbyterian
 model of congregation, classes, and assemblies,
 was not allowed to be finished: It seemed even
 the intention of many leaders in the parliament
 to admit of no established church, and to leave
 every one, without any guidance of the ma-
 gistrate, to embrace whatever sect, and to support
 whatever clergy, were most agreeable to him.

THE parliament went so far as to make some
 approaches in one province, to their independent
 model. Almost all the clergy of Wales being
 ejected as malignants, itinerant preachers with
 small salaries were settled, not above four or
 five in each county; and these, being furnished
 with horses at the public expense, hurried from
 place to place, and carried, as they expressed
 themselves, the glad tidings of the gospel ²⁶.
 They were all of them men of the lowest birth
 and education, who had deserted mechanical
 trades, in order to follow this new profession.
 And in this particular, as well as in their wander-
 ing life, they pretended to be more truly apostolical.

THE republicans, both by the turn of their
 disposition, and by the nature of the instruments,
 which they employed, were better qualified for
 acts of force and vigor than for the slow and
 deliberate work of legislation. Notwithstanding
 the late wars and bloodshed, and the present

²⁶ Dr. John Walker's Attempt, p. 147, & seq.
 factions,

factions, the power of England had never, in any period, appeared so formidable to the neighbouring kingdoms as it did at this time, in the hands of the commonwealth. A numerous army served equally to retain every one in implicit subjection to established authority, and to strike a terror into foreign nations. The power of peace and war was lodged in the same hands with that of imposing taxes; and no difference of views, among the several members of the legislature, could any longer be apprehended. The present impositions, though much superior to what had ever formerly been experienced, were in reality moderate, and what a nation, so opulent, could easily bear. The military genius of the people had, by the civil contests, been roused from its former lethargy; and excellent officers were formed in every branch of service. The confusion, into which all things had been thrown, had given opportunity to men of low stations to break through their obscurity, and to raise themselves by their courage to commands, which they were well qualified to exercise, but to which their birth could never have entitled them. And while so great a power was lodged in such active hands, no wonder the republic was successful in all its enterprises.

BLAKE, a man of great courage and a generous disposition, the same person who had defended Lyme and Taunton with such unshaken obstinacy against the late king, was made an admiral; and though he had hitherto been accustomed only to

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land service, into which too he had not entered till past fifty years of age, he soon raised the naval glory of the nation to a greater height than it had ever attained in any former period. A fleet was put under his command, and he received orders to pursue prince Rupert, to whom the king had intrusted that squadron, which had deserted to him. Rupert took shelter in Kinsale; and escaping thence, fled towards the coast of Portugal. Blake pursued, and chased him into the Tagus, where he intended to make an attack upon him. But the king of Portugal, moved by the favor, which, throughout all Europe, attended the royal cause, refused Blake admittance, and aided prince Rupert in making his escape. To be revenged of this partiality, the English admiral made prize of twenty Portuguese ships richly laden, and he threatened still farther vengeance. The king of Portugal, dreading so dangerous a foe to his newly acquired dominion, and sensible of the unequal contest, in which he was engaged, made all possible submissions to the haughty republic, and was at last admitted to negotiate the renewal of his alliance with England. Prince Rupert, having lost a great part of his squadron on the coast of Spain, made sail towards the West-Indies. His brother, prince Maurice, was there ship-wrecked in a hurricane. Every where, this squadron subsisted by privateering, sometimes on English, sometimes on Spanish vessels. And Rupert at last returned to France, where he disposed of the remnants of his fleet, together with his prizes.

ALL the settlements in America, except New England, which had been planted entirely by the puritans, adhered to the royal party, even after the settlement of the republic; and Sir George Aiscue was sent with a squadron to reduce them. Bermudas, Antigua, Virginia were soon subdued. Barbadoes, commanded by lord Willoughby of Parham, made some resistance; but was at last obliged to submit.

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WITH equal ease were Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the isle of Man brought under subjection to the republic; and the sea, which had been much infested by privateers from these islands, was rendered safe to the English commerce. The countess of Derby defended the isle of Man; and with great reluctance yielded to the necessity of surrendering to the enemy. This lady, a daughter of the illustrious house of Tremouille in France, had, during the civil war, displayed a manly courage by her obstinate defence of Latham-House against the parliamentary forces; and she retained the glory of being the last person in the three kingdoms and in all their dependent dominions, who submitted to the victorious commonwealth²⁷.

IRELAND and Scotland were now entirely subjected and reduced to tranquillity. Ireton, the new deputy of Ireland, at the head of a numerous army 30,000 strong, prosecuted the work of subduing the revolted Irish; and he defeated

²⁷ See note [G] at the end of the volume.

C H A P. them in many rencounters, which, though of
 LX. themselves of no great moment, proved fatal to
 1651. their declining cause. He punished without mercy
 all the prisoners who had any hand in the mas-
 sacres. Sir Phelim O'Neale, among the rest, was,
 some time after, brought to the gibbet, and
 suffered an ignominious death, which he had so
 well merited by his inhuman cruelties. Limeric,
 a considerable town, still remained in the hands
 of the Irish; and Ireton, after a vigorous siege,
 made himself master of it. He was here infected
 with the plague, and shortly after died; a memor-
 able personage, much celebrated for his vigilance,
 industry, capacity, even for the strict execution
 of justice in that unlimited command, which he
 possessed in Ireland. He was observed to be in-
 flexible in all his purposes; and it was believed
 by many, that he was animated with a sincere
 and passionate love of liberty, and never could
 have been induced by any motive, to submit
 to the smallest appearance of regal government.
 Cromwel appeared to be much affected by his
 death; and the republicans, who reposed great
 confidence in him, were inconsolable. To show
 their regard for his merit and services, they be-
 stowed an estate of two thousand pounds a year
 on his family, and honored him with a magnifi-
 cent funeral at the public charge. Though the
 established government was but the mere shadow
 of a commonwealth, yet was it beginning by
 proper arts to encourage that public spirit, which
 no other species of civil polity is ever able fully
 to inspire.

THE command of the army in Ireland devolved on lieutenant-general Ludlow. The civil government of the island was intrusted to commissioners. Ludlow continued to push the advantages against the Irish, and every where obtained an easy victory. That unhappy people, disgusted with the king on account of those violent declarations against them and their religion, which had been extorted by the Scots, applied to the king of Spain, to the duke of Lorraine; and found assistance no where. Clanricarde, unable to assist the prevailing power, made submissions to the parliament, and retired into England, where he soon after died. He was a steady catholic; but a man much respected by all parties.

THE successes, which attended Monk in Scotland, were no less decisive. That able general laid siege to Stirling castle; and though it was well provided for defence, it was soon surrendered to him. He there became master of all the records of the kingdom; and he sent them to England. The earl of Leven, the earl of Crawford, lord Ogilvy, and other noblemen, having met near Perth, in order to concert measures for raising a new army, were suddenly set upon by colonel Alured, and most of them taken prisoners. Sir Philip Musgrave, with some Scots, being engaged at Dumfries in a like enterprise, met with a like fate. Dundee was a town well fortified, supplied with a good garrison under Lumisden, and full of all the rich furniture, the plate, and money of the kingdom, which had

C H A P. been sent thither as to a place of safety. Monk
 LX. appeared before it; and having made a breach,
 1651. gave a general assault. He carried the town;
 and following the example and instructions of
 Cromwel, put all the inhabitants to the sword,
 in order to strike a general terror into the king-
 dom. Warned by this example, Aberdeen, St.
 Andrew's, Inverness, and other towns and forts
 yielded, of their own accord, to the enemy.
 Argyle made his submissions to the English com-
 monwealth; and excepting a few royalists, who
 remained some time in the mountains, under the
 earl of Glencairn, lord Balcarras, and general
 Middleton, that kingdom, which had hitherto,
 through all ages, by means of its situation, po-
 verty, and valor, maintained its independence,
 was reduced to total subjection.

THE English parliament sent Sir Harry Vane,
 St. John, and other commissioners to settle Scot-
 land. These men, who possessed little of the
 true spirit of liberty, knew how to maintain the
 appearance of it; and they required the voluntary
 consent of all the counties and towns of this con-
 quered kingdom, before they would unite them
 into the same commonwealth with England. The
 clergy protested; because, they said, this incor-
 porating union would draw along with it a sub-
 ordination of the church to the state in the things
 of Christ²². English judges, joined to some
 Scottish, were appointed to determine all causes;

²² Whitlocke, p. 496. Heathe's Chronicle, p. 307.

justice was strictly administered; order and peace maintained; and the Scots, freed from the tyranny of the ecclesiastics, were not much dissatisfied with the present government²⁹. The prudent conduct of Monk, a man who possessed a capacity for the arts both of peace and war, served much to reconcile the minds of men, and to allay their prejudices.

By the total reduction and pacification of the British dominions, the parliament had leisure to look abroad, and to exert their vigor in foreign enterprises. The Dutch were the first that felt the weight of their arms.

DURING the life of Frederic Henry, prince of Orange, the Dutch republic had maintained a neutrality in the civil wars of England, and had never interposed, except by her good offices, between the contending parties. When William, who had married an English princess, succeeded to his father's commands and authority³⁰, the states, both before and after the execution of the late king, were accused of taking steps more favorable to the royal cause, and of betraying a great prejudice against that of the parliament. It was long before the envoy of the English commonwealth could obtain an audience of the states-general. The murderers of Dorislaus were not pursued with such vigor as the parliament expected. And much regard had been paid to the king, and many good offices performed to

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Dutch war.

²⁹ See note [H] at the end of the volume. ³⁰ 1647.

C H A P. him, both by the public, and by men of all
 LX. ranks, in the united provinces.

1652.

AFTER the death of William, prince of Orange³¹, which was attended with the depression of his party and the triumph of the Dutch republicans, the parliament thought, that the time was now favorable for cementing a closer confederacy with the states. St. John, chief justice, who was sent over to the Hague, had entertained the idea of forming a kind of coalition between the two republics, which would have rendered their interests totally inseparable; but fearing that so extraordinary a project would not be relished, he contented himself with dropping some hints of it, and openly went no farther than to propose a strict defensive alliance between England and the united provinces, such as has now, for near seventy years, taken place between these friendly powers³². But the states, who were unwilling to form a nearer confederacy with a government, whose measures were so obnoxious, and whose situation seemed so precarious, offered only to renew the former alliances with England. And the haughty St. John, disgusted with this disappointment, as well as incensed at many affronts, which had been offered him with impunity, by the retainers of the Palatine and Orange families, and indeed by the populace in general, returned into England, and endeavoured to foment a quarrel between the republics.

³¹ In October 17, 1650. ³² Thurloe, vol. i. p. 182.

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THE movements of great states are often directed by as slender springs as those of individuals. Though war with so considerable a naval power as the Dutch, who were in peace with all their other neighbours, might seem dangerous to the yet unsettled commonwealth, there were several motives, which at this time induced the English parliament to embrace hostile measures. Many of the members thought that a foreign war would serve as a pretence for continuing the same parliament, and delaying the new model of a representative, with which the nation had so long been flattered. Others hoped, that the war would furnish a reason for maintaining, some time longer, that numerous standing army, which was so much complained of³³. On the other hand, some, who dreaded the increasing power of Cromwel, expected, that the great expense of naval armaments, would prove a motive for diminishing the military establishment. To divert the attention of the public from domestic quarrels towards foreign transactions, seemed, in the present disposition of men's minds, to be good policy. The superior power of the English commonwealth, together with its advantages of situation, promised success; and the parliamentary leaders hoped to gain many rich prizes from the Dutch, to distress and sink their flourishing commerce,

³³ We are told in the life of Sir Harry Vane, that that famous republican opposed the Dutch war, and that it was the military gentlemen chiefly who supported that measure.

C H A P. and by victories to throw a lustre on their own
 LX. establishment, which was so new and unpopular.
 1652. All these views, enforced by the violent spirit of
 St. John, who had great influence over Cromwel,
 determined the parliament to change the pur-
 posed alliance into a furious war against the unit-
 ed provinces.

To cover these hostile intentions, the parlia-
 ment, under pretence of providing for the in-
 terests of commerce, embraced such measures as;
 they knew, would give disgust to the states.
 They framed the famous act of navigation;
 which prohibited all nations from importing into
 England in their bottoms any commodity, which
 was not the growth and manufacture of their
 own country. By this law, though the terms,
 in which it was conceived, were general, the
 Dutch were principally affected; because their
 country produces few commodities, and they
 subsist chiefly by being the general carriers and
 factors of Europe. Letters of reprisal were grant-
 ed to several merchants, who complained of
 injuries, which, they pretended, they had re-
 ceived from the states; and above eighty Dutch
 ships fell into their hands, and were made prizes.
 The cruelties committed on the English at Am-
 boyna, which were certainly enormous, but
 which seemed to be buried in oblivion by a thirty
 years' silence, were again made the ground of
 complaint. And the allowing the murderers of
 Dorislaus to escape, and the conniving at the in-
 sults to which St. John had been exposed, were

represented as symptoms of an unfriendly, if not a hostile disposition, in the states.

THE states, alarmed at all these steps, sent orders to their ambassadors to endeavour the renewal of the treaty of alliance, which had been broken off by the abrupt departure of St John. Not to be unprepared, they equipped a fleet of a hundred and fifty sail, and took care, by their ministers at London, to inform the council of state of that armament. This intelligence instead of striking terror into the English republic, was considered as a menace, and farther confirmed the parliament in their hostile resolutions. The minds of men in both states, were, every day, more irritated against each other; and it was not long before these humors broke forth into action.

TROMP, an admiral of great renown, received from the states the command of a fleet of forty-two sail, in order to protect the Dutch navigation against the privateers of the English. He was forced by stress of weather, as he alledged, to take shelter in the road of Dover, where he met with Blake, who commanded an English fleet much inferior in number. Who was the aggressor in the action, which ensued between these two admirals, both of them men of such prompt and fiery dispositions, it is not easy to determine; since each of them sent to his own state a relation totally opposite in all its circumstances to that of the other, and yet supported by the testimony of every captain in his fleet. Blake pretended, that, having given a signal

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C H A P. to the Dutch admiral to strike, Tromp, instead
LX. of complying, fired a broad-side at him. Tromp
1652. asserted, that he was preparing to strike, and that the English admiral, nevertheless, began hostilities. It is certain that the admiralty of Holland, who are distinct from the council of state, had given Tromp no orders to strike, but had left him to his own discretion, with regard to that vain but much contested ceremonial. They seemed willing to introduce the claim of an equality with the new commonwealth, and to interpret the former respect paid the English flag, as a deference due only to the monarchy. This circumstance forms a strong presumption against the narrative of the Dutch admiral. The whole Orange party, it must be remarked, to which Tromp was suspected to adhere, was desirous of a war with England.

BLAKE, though his squadron consisted only of fifteen vessels, re-inforced, after the battle began, by eight under captain Bourne, maintained the fight with bravery for five hours, and sunk one ship of the enemy, and took another. Night parted the combatants, and the Dutch fleet retired towards the coast of Holland. The populace of London were enraged, and would have insulted the Dutch ambassadors, who lived at Chelsea, had not the council of state sent guards to protect them.

WHEN the states heard of this action, of which the consequences were easily foreseen, they were in the utmost consternation. They immediately

dispatched Paw, Pensionary of Holland, as their ambassador extraordinary to London, and ordered him to lay before the parliament the narrative, which Tromp had sent of the late rencounter. They entreated them, by all the bands of their common religion, and common liberties, not to precipitate themselves into hostile measures, but to appoint commissioners who should examine every circumstance of the action, and clear up the truth, which lay in obscurity. And they pretended, that they had given no orders to their admiral to offer any violence to the English, but would severely punish him, if they found, upon inquiry, that he had been guilty of an action, which they so much disapproved. The imperious parliament would hearken to none of these reasons or remonstrances. Elated by the numerous successes, which they had obtained over their domestic enemies, they thought that every thing must yield to their fortunate arms; and they gladly seized the opportunity, which they fought, of making war upon the states. They demanded, that, without any farther delay or inquiry, reparation should be made for all the damages, which the English had sustained. And when this demand was not complied with, they dispatched orders for commencing war against the united provinces.

BLAKE sailed northwards with a numerous fleet, and fell upon the herring busses, which were escorted by twelve men of war. All these he either took or dispersed. Tromp followed him

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C H A P. LX. with a fleet of above a hundred sail. When these two admirals were within sight of each other, and preparing for battle, a furious storm attacked them. Blake took shelter in the English harbours. The Dutch fleet was dispersed and received great damage.

16th Aug. **SIR GEORGE AISCUE**, though he commanded only forty ships, according to the English accounts, engaged near Plymouth the famous de Ruiter, who had under him fifty ships of war, with thirty merchant-men. The Dutch ships were indeed of inferior force to the English. De Ruiter, the only admiral in Europe, who has attained a renown equal to that of the greatest general, defended himself so well, that Aiscue gained no advantage over him. Night parted them in the greatest heat of the action. De Ruiter next day failed off with his convoy. The English fleet had been so shattered in the fight, that it was not able to pursue.

28th Oct. **NEAR** the coast of Kent, Blake, seconded by Bourne and Pen, met a Dutch squadron, nearly equal in numbers, commanded by de Witte and de Ruiter. A battle was fought much to the disadvantage of the Dutch. Their rear-admiral was boarded and taken. Two other vessels were sunk, and one blown up. The Dutch next day made sail towards Holland.

THE English were not so successful in the Mediterranean. Van Galen with much superior force attacked captain Badily and defeated him. He bought, however, his victory with the loss of his life.

SEA-FIGHTS are seldom so decisive as to disable the vanquished from making head in a little time against the victors. Tromp, seconded by de Ruiter, met near the Goodwins, with Blake, whose fleet was inferior to the Dutch, but who resolved not to decline the combat. A furious battle commenced, where the admirals on both sides, as well as the inferior officers and seamen, exerted great bravery. In this action the Dutch had the advantage. Blake himself was wounded. The Garland and Bonaventure were taken. Two ships were burned, and one sunk; and night came opportunely to save the English fleet. After this victory, Tromp in a bravado fixed a broom to his main-mast; as if he were resolved to sweep the sea entirely of all English vessels.

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LX.

29th Nov.

GREAT preparations were made in England, in order to wipe off this disgrace. A gallant fleet of eighty sail was fitted out. Blake commanded, and Dean under him, together with Monk, who had been sent for from Scotland. When the English lay off Portland, they descried near break of day a Dutch fleet of seventy-six vessels, sailing up the channel, along with a convoy of 300 merchantmen, who had received orders to wait at the isle of Rhé, till the fleet should arrive to escort them. Tromp, and, under him, de Ruiter, commanded the Dutch. This battle was the most furious that had yet been fought between these warlike and rival nations. Three days was the combat continued

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18th Feb.

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with the utmost rage and obstinacy; and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honor than Tromp, who was vanquished. The Dutch admiral made a skilful retreat, and saved all the merchant ships, except thirty. He lost however eleven ships of war, had 2000 men slain, and near 1500 taken prisoners. The English, though many of their ships were extremely shattered, had but one sunk. Their slain were not much inferior in number to those of the enemy.

ALL these successes of the English were chiefly owing to the superior size of their vessels, an advantage which all the skill and bravery of the Dutch admirals could not compensate. By means of ship-money, an imposition, which had been so much complained of, and in some respects with reason, the late king had put the navy into a situation, which it had never attained in any former reign; and he ventured to build ships of a size, which was then unusual. But the misfortunes, which the Dutch met with in battle, were small in comparison of those, which their trade sustained from the English. Their whole commerce by the channel was cut off: Even that to the Baltic was much infested by English privateers. Their fisheries were totally suspended. A great number of their ships, above 1600, had fallen into the hands of the enemy. And all this distress they suffered, not for any national interests or necessity; but from vain points of honor and personal resentments, of which it was difficult to give a satisfactory account to the public.

public. They resolved therefore to gratify the pride of the parliament, and to make some advances towards peace. They met not, however, with a favorable reception, and it was not without pleasure, that they learned the dissolution of that haughty assembly by the violence of Cromwel; an event from which they expected a more prosperous turn to their affairs.

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THE zealous republicans in the parliament had not been the chief or first promoters of the war; but when it was once entered upon, they endeavoured to draw from it every possible advantage. On all occasions they set up the fleet in opposition to the army, and celebrated the glory and successes of their naval armaments. They insisted on the intolerable expence, to which the nation was subjected, and urged the necessity of diminishing it by a reduction of the land forces. They had ordered some regiments to serve on board the fleet in the quality of marines. And Cromwel, by the whole train of their proceedings, evidently saw, that they had entertained a jealousy of his power and ambition, and were resolved to bring him to a subordination under their authority. Without scruple or delay he resolved to prevent them.

Dissolution
of the par-
liament.

ON such firm foundations was built the credit of this extraordinary man, that though a great master of fraud and dissimulation, he judged it superfluous to employ any disguise in conducting this bold enterprise. He summoned a general council of officers; and immediately found, that

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they were disposed to receive whatever impressions he was pleased to give them. Most of them were his creatures, had owed their advancement to his favor, and relied entirely upon him for their future preferment. The breach being already made between the military and civil powers, when the late king was seized at Holdenby; the general officers regarded the parliament as at once their creature and their rival; and thought, that they themselves were entitled to share among them those offices and riches, of which its members had so long kept possession. Harrison, Rich, Overton, and a few others, who retained some principle, were guided by notions so extravagant, that they were easily deluded into measures the most violent and most criminal. And the whole army had already been guilty of such illegal and atrocious actions, that they could entertain no farther scruple with regard to any enterprize, which might serve their selfish or fanatical purposes.

IN the council of officers it was presently voted to frame a remonstrance to the parliament. After complaining of the arrears, due to the army, they there desired the parliament to reflect how many years they had sitten, and what professions they had formerly made of their intentions to new-model the representative, and establish successive parliaments, who might bear the burthen of national affairs, from which they themselves would gladly, after so much danger and fatigue, be at last relieved. They confessed that the parliament had atchieved great enterprizes, and

had surmounted mighty difficulties; yet was it an injury, they said, to the rest of the nation to be excluded from bearing any part in the service of their country. It was now full time for them to give place to others; and they therefore desired them, after settling a council, who might execute the laws during the interval, to summon a new parliament, and establish that free and equal government, which they had so long promised to the people.

THE parliament took this remonstrance in ill part, and made a sharp reply to the council of officers. The officers insisted on their advice; and by mutual altercation and opposition the breach became still wider between the army and the commonwealth. Cromwel, finding matters ripe for his purpose, called a council of officers, in order to come to a determination with regard to the public settlement. As he had here many friends, so had he also some opponents. Harrison having assured the council, that the general sought only to pave the way for the government of Jesus and his saints, major Streater briskly replied, that Jesus ought then to come quickly: For if he delayed it till after Christmas, he would come too late; he would find his place occupied. While the officers were in debate, colonel Ingoldsby informed Cromwel, that the parliament was sitting, and had come to a resolution not to dissolve themselves, but to fill up the house by new elections; and was at that very time engaged in deliberations with regard to

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20th April.

C H A P. this expedient. Cromwel in a rage immediately
 LX. hastened to the house, and carried a body of
 1653. 300 soldiers along with him. Some of them he
 placed at the door, some in the lobby, some
 on the stairs. He first addressed himself to his
 friend St. John, and told him, that he had come
 with a purpose of doing what grieved him to
 the very soul, and what he had earnestly with
 tears besought the Lord not to impose upon him:
 But there was a necessity, in order to the glory
 of God and good of the nation. He sat down
 for some time, and heard the debate. He beckon-
 ed Harrison, and told him, that he now judged
 the parliament ripe for a dissolution. "Sir,"
 said Harrison, "the work is very great and
 dangerous: I desire you seriously to consider,
 before you engage in it." "You say well,"
 replied the general; and thereupon sat still about
 a quarter of an hour. When the question was
 ready to be put, he said again to Harrison,
 "This is the time: I must do it." And suddenly
 starting up, he loaded the parliament with the
 vilest reproaches, for their tyranny, ambition,
 oppression, and robbery of the public. Then
 stamping with his foot, which was a signal for
 the soldiers to enter, "For shame," said he to
 the parliament, "get you gone: give place to
 honest men; to those who will more faith-
 fully discharge their trust. You are no longer
 a parliament: I tell you, you are no longer
 a parliament. The Lord has done with you;
 He has chosen other instruments for carrying

“ on his work.” Sir Harry Vane exclaiming against this proceeding, he cried with a loud voice, “ O! Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane; “ The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!” Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, “ Thou “ art a whoremaster,” said he. To another, “ Thou art an adulterer.” To a third, “ Thou “ art a drunkard and a glutton:” “ And thou “ an extortioner,” to a fourth. He commanded a foldier to seize the mace. “ What shall we do “ with this bauble? Here take it away. It is “ you,” said he, addressing himself to the house, “ that have forced me upon this. I have fought “ the Lord night and day, that he would rather “ slay me than put me upon this work.” Having commanded the foldiers to clear the hall, he himself went out the last, and ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings in Whitehall.

IN this furious manner, which so well denotes his genuine character, did Cromwel, without the least opposition, or even murmur, annihilate that famous assembly, which had filled all Europe with the renown of its actions, and with astonishment at its crimes, and whose commencement was not more ardently desired by the people than was its final dissolution. All parties now reaped successively the melancholy pleasure of seeing the injuries, which they had suffered, revenged on their enemies; and that too by the same arts, which had been practised against them. The king had, in some instances, stretched

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 1653. his prerogative beyond its just bounds; and aided by the church, had well nigh put an end to all the liberties and privileges of the nation. The presbyterians checked the progress of the court and clergy, and excited, by cant and hypocrisy, the populace first to tumults, then to war, against the king, the peers, and all the royalists. No sooner had they reached the pinnacle of grandeur, than the independents, under the appearance of still greater sanctity, instigated the army against them, and reduced them to subjection. The independents, amidst their empty dreams of liberty, or rather of dominion, were oppressed by the rebellion of their own servants, and found themselves at once exposed to the insults of power and hatred of the people. By recent, as well as all ancient example, it was become evident, that illegal violence, with whatever pretences it may be covered, and whatever object it may pursue, must inevitably end at last in the arbitrary and despotic government of a single person.

C H A P. LXI.

Cromwel's birth and private life — Barebone's parliament — Cromwel made protector — Peace with Holland — A new parliament — Insurrection of the royalists — State of Europe — War with Spain — Jamaica conquered — Success and death of admiral Blake — Domestic administration of Cromwel — Humble Petition and Advice — Dunkirk taken — Sickness of the protector — His death — And character.

OLIVER CROMWEL, in whose hands the dissolution of the parliament had left the whole power, civil and military, of three kingdoms, was born at Huntingdon, the last year of the former century, of a good family; though he himself, being the son of a second brother, inherited but a small estate from his father. In the course of his education he had been sent to the university; but his genius was found little fitted for the calm and elegant occupations of learning; and he made small proficiencies in his studies. He even threw himself into a dissolute and disorderly course of life; and he consumed, in gaming, drinking, debauchery, and country-riots, the more early years of his youth, and dissipated part of his patrimony. All of a sudden, the spirit of reformation seized him; he married, affected a

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Cromwel's
birth and
private life.

C H A P. grave and composed behaviour, entered into all
 LXI. the zeal and rigor of the puritanical party, and
 1653. offered to restore to every one whatever sums he
 had formerly gained by gaming. The same
 vehemence of temper, which had transported
 him into the extremes of pleasure, now distin-
 guished his religious habits. His house was the
 resort of all the zealous clergy of the party; and
 his hospitality, as well as his liberalities to the
 silenced and deprived ministers, proved as charge-
 able as his former debaucheries. Though he had
 acquired a tolerable fortune by a maternal uncle,
 he found his affairs so injured by his expenses,
 that he was obliged to take a farm at St. Ives,
 and apply himself, for some years, to agriculture
 as a profession. But this expedient served rather
 to involve him in farther debts and difficulties.
 The long prayers, which he said to his family in
 the morning, and again in the afternoon, con-
 sumed his own time and that of his ploughmen;
 and he reserved no leisure for the care of his
 temporal affairs. His active mind, superior to
 the low occupations, to which he was con-
 demned, preyed upon itself; and he indulged his
 imagination in visions, illuminations, revelations;
 the great nourishment of that hypochondriacal
 temper, to which he was ever subject. Urged
 by his wants and his piety, he had made a party
 with Hambden, his near kinsman, who was
 pressed only by the latter motive, to transport
 himself into New England, now become the
 retreat of the more zealous among the puritanical

party; and it was an order of council, which obliged them to disembark and remain in England. The earl of Bedford, who possessed a large estate in the Fen Country, near the isle of Ely, having undertaken to drain these morasses, was obliged to apply to the king; and by the powers of the prerogative, he got commissioners appointed, who conducted that work, and divided the new acquired land among the several proprietors. He met with opposition from many, among whom Cromwel distinguished himself; and this was the first public opportunity, which he had met with, of discovering the factious zeal and obstinacy of his character.

FROM accident and intrigue he was chosen by the town of Cambridge member of the long parliament. His domestic affairs were then in great disorder; and he seemed not to possess any talents, which could qualify him to rise in that public sphere, into which he was now at last entered. His person was ungraceful, his dress slovenly, his voice untunable, his elocution homely, tedious, obscure, and embarrassed. The fervor of his spirit frequently prompted him to rise in the house; but he was not heard with attention: His name, for above two years, is not to be found oftener than twice in any committee; and those committees, into which he was admitted, were chosen for affairs, which would more interest the zealots than the men of business. In comparison of the eloquent speakers and fine gentlemen of the house, he was entirely overlooked; and his

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C H A P. friend Hambden alone was acquainted with the
 LXI. depth of his genius, and foretold, that, if a civil
 1653. war should ensue, he would soon rise to eminence
 and distinction.

CROMWEL himself seems to have been conscious where his strength lay; and partly from that motive, partly from the uncontrollable fury of his zeal, he always joined that party, which pushed every thing to extremities against the king. He was active in promoting the famous remonstrance, which was the signal for all the ensuing commotions; and when, after a long debate, it was carried by a small majority, he told lord Falkland, that, if the question had been lost, he was resolved next day to have converted into ready money the remains of his fortune, and immediately to have left the kingdom. Nor was this resolution, he said, peculiar to himself: Many others of his party he knew to be equally determined.

HE was no less than forty-three years of age, when he first embraced the military profession; and by force of genius, without any master, he soon became an excellent officer; though perhaps he never reached the fame of a consummate commander. He raised a troop of horse; fixed his quarters in Cambridge; exerted great severity towards that university, which zealously adhered to the royal party; and showed himself a man who would go all lengths in favor of that cause, which he had espoused. He would not allow his soldiers to perplex their heads with those

subtilties, of fighting by the king's authority C H A P.
 against his person, and of obeying his majesty's LXI.
 commands signified by both houses of parliament: 1653.
 He plainly told them, that, if he met the king
 in battle, he would fire a pistol in his face as
 readily as against any other man. His troop of
 horse he soon augmented to a regiment; and he
 first instituted that discipline and inspired that
 spirit, which rendered the parliamentary armies
 in the end victorious. "Your troops," said he
 to Hambden, according to his own account¹,
 "are most of them old decayed serving men and
 "tapsters, and such kind of fellows; the king's
 "forces are composed of gentlemen's younger
 "sons and persons of good quality. And do
 "you think, that the mean spirits of such base
 "and low fellows as ours will ever be able to
 "encounter gentlemen, that have honor and
 "courage and resolution in them? You must get
 "men of spirit, and take it not ill that I say, of
 "a spirit, that is likely to go as far as gentlemen
 "will go, or else I am sure you will still be
 "beaten, as you have hitherto been, in every
 "encounter." He did as he proposed. He in-
 listed the sons of freeholders and farmers. He
 carefully invited into his regiment all the zealous
 fanatics throughout England. When they were
 collected in a body, their enthusiastic spirit still
 rose to a higher pitch. Their colonel, from his
 own natural character, as well as from policy,

¹ Conference held at Whitehall.

C H A P. was sufficiently inclined to increase the flame.
LXI. He preached, he prayed, he fought, he punished,
1653. he rewarded. The wild enthusiasm, together with valor and discipline, still propagated itself; and all men cast their eyes on so pious and so successful a leader. From low commands he rose with great rapidity to be really the first, though in appearance only the second, in the army. By fraud and violence, he soon rendered himself the first in the state. In proportion to the increase of his authority, his talents always seemed to expand themselves; and he displayed every day new abilities, which had lain dormant, till the very emergency, by which they were called forth into action. All Europe stood astonished to see a nation, so turbulent and unruly, who, for some doubtful encroachments on their privileges, had dethroned and murdered an excellent prince, descended from a long line of monarchs, now at last subdued and reduced to slavery by one, who, a few years before, was no better than a private gentleman, whose name was not known in the nation, and who was little regarded even in that low sphere, to which he had always been confined.

THE indignation, entertained by the people, against an authority, founded on such manifest usurpation, was not so violent as might naturally be expected. Congratulatory addresses, the first of the kind, were made to Cromwel by the fleet, by the army, even by many of the chief corporations and counties of England; but especially

by the feveral congregations of faints, difperfed throughout the kingdom². The royalifts, though they could not love the man, who had embrued his hands in the blood of their fovereign, expected more lenity from him, than from the jealous and imperious republicans, who had hitherto governed. The prefbyterians were pleafed to fee thofe men, by whom they had been outwitted and expelled, now in their turn expelled and outwitted by their own fervant; and they applauded him, for this laft act of violence upon the parliament. Thefe two parties compofed the bulk of the nation, and kept the people in fome tolerable temper. All men, likewise, haraffed with wars and factions, were glad to fee any profpect of fettlement. And they deemed it lefs ignominious to fubmit to a perfon of fuch admirable talents and capacity than to a few ignoble enthusiastic hypocrites, who under the name of a republic, had reduced them to a cruel fubjection.

THE republicans, being dethroned by Cromwel, were the party whose refentment he had the greateft reason to apprehend. That party, befides the independents, contained two fets of men, who are feemingly of the moft oppofite principles, but who were then united by a fimilitude of genius and of character. The firft and moft numerous were the millenarians, or fifth-monarchy-men, who infifted, that, dominion being founded in grace, all diftinction in magiftracy muft be

C H A P.
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² See Milton's State Papers.

C H A P. abolished, except what arose from piety and
 LXI. holiness; who expected suddenly the second com-
 1653. ing of Christ upon earth; and who pretended,
 that the saints in the mean while, that is, them-
 selves, were alone entitled to govern. The
 second were the deists, who had no other object
 than political liberty, who denied entirely the
 truth of revelation, and insinuated, that all the
 various sects, so heated against each other, were
 alike founded in folly and in error. Men of such
 daring geniuses were not contented with the
 ancient and legal forms of civil government; but
 challenged a degree of freedom beyond what they
 expected ever to enjoy under any monarchy.
 Martin, Challoner, Harrington, Sidney, Wild-
 man, Nevil, were esteemed the heads of this
 small division.

THE deists were perfectly hated by Cromwel,
 because he had no hold of enthusiasm, by which
 he could govern or over-reach them; he there-
 fore treated them with great rigor and disdain,
 and usually denominated them the *heathens*. As
 the millenarians had a great interest in the army,
 it was much more important for him to gain
 their confidence; and their size of understanding
 afforded him great facility in deceiving them. Of
 late years, it had been so usual a topic of con-
 versation to discourse of parliaments and councils
 and senates, and the soldiers themselves had been
 so much accustomed to enter into that spirit, that
 Cromwel thought it requisite to establish some-
 thing which might bear the face of a common-

wealth. He supposed, that God, in his providence, c H A P.
 had thrown the whole right, as well as power, LXI.
 of government into his hands; and without any 1653.
 more ceremony, by the advice of his council of
 officers, he sent summons to a hundred and
 twenty-eight persons of different towns and coun-
 ties of England, to five of Scotland, to six of
 Ireland. He pretended, by his sole act and deed,
 to devolve upon these the whole authority of
 the state. This legislative power they were to
 exercise during fifteen months; and they were
 afterwards to chuse the same number of persons,
 who might succeed them in that high and im-
 portant office.

Barebone's
 parliament.

THERE were great numbers at that time, who
 made it a principle always to adhere to any
 power, which was uppermost, and to support
 the established government. This maxim is not
 peculiar to the people of that age; but what may
 be esteemed peculiar to them, is, that there
 prevailed a hypocritical phrase for expressing so
 prudential a conduct: It was called a waiting
 upon providence. When providence, therefore,
 was so kind as to bestow on these men, now
 assembled together, the supreme authority, they
 must have been very ungrateful, if, in their turn,
 they had been wanting in complaisance towards
 her. They immediately voted themselves a par-
 liament; and having their own consent, as well
 as that of Oliver Cromwel, for their legislative
 authority, they now proceeded very gravely to
 the exercise of it.

C H A P. LXI. 1653. IN this notable assembly were some persons of the rank of gentlemen; but the far greater part were low mechanics; fifth-monarchy-men, anabaptists, antinomians, independents; the very dregs of the fanatics. They began with seeking God by prayer: This office was performed by eight or ten *gifted* men of the assembly; and with so much success, that according to the confession of all, they had never before, in any of their devotional exercises, enjoyed so much of the holy spirit as was then communicated to them³. Their hearts were, no doubt, dilated when they considered the high dignity, to which they supposed themselves exalted. They had been told by Cromwel in his first discourse, that he never looked to see such a day, when Christ should be so owned⁴. They thought it, therefore, their

³ Parl. Hist. vol. xx. p. 182.

⁴ These are his expressions. "Indeed, I have but one word more to say to you, though in that perhaps I shall show my weakness: It is by way of encouragement to you in this work; give me leave to begin thus: I confess I never looked to have seen such a day as this, it may be nor you neither, when Jesus Christ should be so owned as he is at this day and in this work. Jesus Christ is owned this day by your call, and you own him by your willingness to appear for him, and you manifest this (as far as poor creatures can do) to be a day of the power of Christ. I know you will remember that scripture, *he makes his people willing in the day of his power*. God manifests it to be the day of the power of Christ, having through so much blood and so much trial as has been upon this nation, he makes this one of the duty

duty to proceed to a thorough reformation, and to pave the way for the reign of the Redeemer, and for that great work, which, it was expected, the Lord was to bring forth among them. All fanatics, being consecrated by their own fond imaginations, naturally bear an antipathy to the ecclesiastics, who claim a peculiar sanctity, derived merely from their office and priestly character. This parliament took into consideration the abolition of the clerical function, as favoring of popery; and the taking away of tithes, which they called a relict of Judaism. Learning also and the universities were deemed heathenish and unnecessary: The common law was denominated a badge of the conquest and of Norman slavery; and they threatened the lawyers with a total abrogation of their profession. Some steps were even taken towards an abolition of the chancery⁵, the highest court of judicature in the kingdom; and the Mosaical law was intended to be established as the sole system of English jurisprudence⁶.

“greatest mercies, next to his own son, to have his people called to the supreme authority. God hath owned his son, and hath owned you, and hath made you to own him. I confess, I never looked to have seen such a day: I did not.” I suppose at this passage he cried: For he was very much given to weeping, and could at any time shed abundance of tears. The rest of the speech may be seen among Milton’s State Papers, page 106. It is very curious, and full of the same obscurity, confusion, embarrassment, and absurdity, which appear in almost all Oliver’s productions.

⁵ Whitlocke, p. 543. 548. ⁶ Conference held at Whitehall.

C H A P. OF all the extraordinary schemes, adopted by
LXI. these legislators, they had not leisure to finish
1653. any, except that which established the legal solemnization of marriage by the civil magistrate alone, without the interposition of the clergy. They found themselves exposed to the derision of the public. Among the fanatics of the house, there was an active member, much noted for his long prayers, sermons, and harangues. He was a leatherfeller in London: His name *Praise-god Barebone*. This ridiculous name, which seems to have been chosen by some poet or allegorist to suit so ridiculous a personage, struck the fancy of the people; and they commonly affixed to this assembly the appellation of Barebone's parliament⁷.

⁷ It was usual for the pretended saints at that time to change their names from Henry, Edward, Antony, William, which they regarded as heathenish, into others more sanctified and godly: Even the New Testament-names, James, Andrew, John, Peter, were not held in such regard as those which were borrowed from the Old Testament, Hezekiah, Habbakuk, Joshua, Zerobabel. Sometimes a whole godly sentence was adopted as a name. Here are the names of a jury said to be enclosed in the county of Suffex about that time.

Accepted, Trevor of Norsham.
 Redeemed, Compton of Battle.
 Faint not, Hewit of Heathfield.
 Make Peace, Heaton of Hare.
 God Reward, Smart of Fivehurst.
 Standfast on High, Stringer of Crowhurst.
 Earth, Adams of Warbleton.
 Called, Lower of the same,
 Kill Sin, Pimple of Witham.

Return, Spelman of Watling.
 Be Faithful, Joiner of Britling.
 Fly Debate, Roberts of the same.
 Fight the good Fight of Faith, White of Emer.
 More Fruit, Fowler of East Hadley.
 Hope for, Bending of the same.
 Graceful, Harding of Lewes.
 Weep not, Billing of the same.
 Meek, Brewer of Okeham.

THE Dutch ambassadors endeavoured to enter into negociation with this parliament; but though protestants and even presbyterians, they met with a bad reception from those who pretended to a sanctity so much superior. The Hollanders were regarded as worldly minded men, intent only on commerce and industry; whom it was fitting the saints should first extirpate, ere they undertook that great work, to which they believed themselves destined by providence, of subduing Antichrist, the man of sin and extending to the uttermost bounds of the earth the kingdom of the Redeemer*. The ambassadors finding themselves proscribed not as enemies of England, but of Christ, remained in astonishment, and knew not which was most to be admired, the implacable spirit or egregious folly of these pretended saints.

CROMWEL began to be ashamed of his legislature. If he ever had any design in summoning so preposterous an assembly beyond amusing the populace and the army; he had intended to alarm

See Brome's Travels into England, p. 279. "Cromwel," says Cleveland, "hath beat up his drums clean through the Old Testament. You may learn the genealogy of our Saviour by the names of his regiment. The muster-master has no other list, than the first chapter of St. Matthew." The brother of this Praise-god Barebone had for name, *If Christ had not died for you, you had been damned Barebone*. But the people, tired of this long name, retained only the last word, and commonly gave him the appellation of *Damn'd Barebone*.

* Thurloe, vol. i. p. 273. 591. Also Stubbe, p. 91, 92.

G H A P. the clergy and lawyers; and he had so far succeeded as to make them desire any other government, which might secure their professions, now brought in danger by these desperate fanatics. Cromwel himself was dissatisfied, that the parliament, though they had derived all their authority from him, began to pretend power from the Lord⁹, and to insist already on their divine commission. He had been careful to summon in his writs several persons entirely devoted to him. By concert, these met early; and it was mentioned by some among them, that the sitting of this parliament any longer would be of no service to the nation. They hastened, therefore, to Cromwel, along with Rouse, their speaker; and by a formal deed or assignment, restored into his hands that supreme authority, which they had so lately received from him. General Harrison and about twenty more remained in the house; and that they might prevent the reign of the saints from coming to an untimely end, they placed one Moyer in the chair, and began to draw up protests. They were soon interrupted by colonel White, with a party of soldiers. He asked them what they did there. "We are seeking the Lord," said they. "Then you may go elsewhere," replied he: "For to my certain knowledge, he has not been here these many years."

12th of December.

THE military being now, in appearance, as

⁹ Thurloe, vol. i. p. 393.

well as in reality, the sole power which prevailed in the nation, Cromwel thought fit to indulge a new fancy: For he seems not to have had any deliberate plan in all these alterations. Lambert, his creature, who, under the appearance of obsequiousness to him, indulged an unbounded ambition, proposed in a council of officers to adopt another scheme of government, and to temper the liberty of a commonwealth by the authority of a single person, who should be known by the appellation of protector. Without delay, he prepared what was called *the instrument of government*, containing the plan of this new legislature; and as it was supposed to be agreeable to the general, it was immediately voted by the council of officers. Cromwel was declared protector; and with great solemnity installed in that high office.

Cromwel
made pro-
tector.

So little were these men endowed with the spirit of legislation, that they confessed, or rather boasted, that they had employed only four days in drawing this instrument, by which the whole government of three kingdoms was pretended to be regulated and adjusted to all succeeding generations. There appears no difficulty in believing them; when it is considered how crude and undigested a system of civil polity they endeavoured to establish. The chief articles of the instrument are these: A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor be less than thirteen persons. These were to enjoy their office during life or good behaviour; and

C H A P. in case of a vacancy, the remaining members
 LXI. named three, of whom the protector chose one.
 1653. The protector was appointed supreme magistrate
 of the commonwealth: In his name was all
 justice to be administered; from him were all
 magistracy and honors derived; he had the
 power of pardoning all crimes, excepting murder
 and treason; to him the benefit of all forfeitures
 devolved. The right of peace, war, and alliance,
 rested in him; but in these particulars he was to
 act by the advice and with the consent of his
 council. The power of the sword was vested
 in the protector, jointly with the parliament,
 while it was sitting, or with the council of state
 in the intervals. He was obliged to summon a
 parliament every three years, and allow them
 to sit five months, without adjournment, pro-
 rogation, or dissolution. The bills, which they
 passed, were to be presented to the protector
 for his assent; but if within twenty days it were
 not obtained, they were to become laws by the
 authority alone of parliament. A standing army
 for Great Britain and Ireland was established,
 of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horse; and funds were
 assigned for their support. These were not to
 be diminished without consent of the protector;
 and in this article alone he assumed a negative.
 During the intervals of parliament, the protector
 and council had the power of enacting laws,
 which were to be valid till the next meeting
 of parliament. The chancellor, treasurer, admiral,
 chief governors of Ireland and Scotland, and

the chief justices of both the benches must be chosen with the approbation of parliament; and in the intervals, with the approbation of the council, to be afterwards ratified by parliament. The protector was to enjoy his office during life; and on his death, the place was immediately to be supplied by the council. This was the instrument of government enacted by the council of officers, and solemnly sworn to by Oliver Cromwel. The council of state, named by the instrument, were fifteen; men entirely devoted to the protector, and by reason of the opposition among themselves in party and principles, not likely ever to combine against him.

CROMWEL said, that he accepted the dignity of protector merely that he might exert the duty of a constable, and preserve peace in the nation. Affairs indeed were brought to that pass, by the furious animosities of the several factions, that the extensive authority and even arbitrary power of some first magistrate was become a necessary evil, in order to keep the people from relapsing into blood and confusion. The independents were too small a party ever to establish a popular government, or intrust the nation, where they had so little interest, with the free choice of its representatives. The presbyterians had adopted the violent maxims of persecution; incompatible at all times with the peace of society, much more with the wild zeal of those numerous sects, which prevailed among the people. The royalists were so much enraged by the injuries,

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 1653. which they had suffered, that the other prevailing parties would never submit to them, who, they knew, were enabled, merely, by the execution of the ancient laws, to take severe vengeance upon them. Had Cromwel been guilty of no crime but this temporary usurpation, the plea of necessity and public good, which he alledged, might be allowed, in every view, a reasonable excuse for his conduct.

DURING the variety of ridiculous and distracted scenes, which the civil government exhibited in England, the military force was exerted with vigor, conduct, and unanimity; and never did the kingdom appear more formidable to all foreign nations. The English fleet, consisting of a hundred sail, and commanded by Monk and Dean, and under them by Pen and Lauson, met, near the coast of Flanders, with the Dutch fleet, equally numerous, and commanded by Tromp. The two republics were not inflamed by any national antipathy, and their interests very little interfered: Yet few battles have been disputed with more fierce and obstinate courage than were those many naval combats, which were fought during this short, but violent war. The desire of remaining sole lords of the ocean animated these states to an honorable emulation against each other. After a battle of two days, in the first of which Dean was killed, the Dutch, inferior in the size of their ships, were obliged, with great loss, to retire into their harbours. Blake, towards the end of the fight, joined his coun-

trymen with eighteen sail. The English fleet lay off the coast of Holland and totally interrupted the commerce of that republic.

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THE ambassadors, whom the Dutch had sent over to England, gave them hopes of peace. But as they could obtain no cessation of hostilities, the states, unwilling to suffer any longer the loss and dishonor of being blockaded by the enemy, made the utmost efforts to recover their injured honor. Never, on any occasion, did the power and vigor of that republic appear in a more conspicuous light. In a few weeks, they had repaired and manned their fleet; and they equipped some ships of a larger size, than any which they had hitherto sent to sea. Tromp issued out, determined again to fight the victors, and to die rather than to yield the contest. He met with the enemy, commanded by Monk; and both sides immediately rushed into combat. Tromp, gallantly animating his men, with his sword drawn, was shot through the heart with a musquet-ball. This event alone decided the battle in favor of the English. Though near thirty ships of the Dutch were sunk and taken, they little regarded this loss compared with that of their brave admiral.

29th July.

MEANWHILE the negotiations of peace were continually advancing. The states, overwhelmed with the expense of the war, terrified by their losses, and mortified by their defeats, were extremely desirous of an accommodation with an enemy whom they found, by experience, too

C H A P. powerful for them. The king having shown an
 LXI. inclination to serve on board their fleet; though
 they expressed their sense of the honor intended
 them, they declined an offer, which might inflame
 the quarrel with the English commonwealth. The
 great obstacle to the peace was found not to be
 any animosity on the part of the English; but on
 the contrary a desire too earnest of union and con-
 federacy. Cromwel had revived the chimerical
 scheme of a coalition with the united provinces;
 a total conjunction of government, privileges,
 1654. interests, and councils. This project appeared so
 wild to the states, that they wondered any man
 15th April. of sense could ever entertain it; and they refused
 to enter into conferences with regard to a proposal,
 which could serve only to delay any practicable
 scheme of accommodation. The peace was at
 Peace with last signed by Cromwel, now invested with the
 Holland. dignity of protector; and it proves sufficiently,
 that the war had been impolitic, since, after the
 most signal victories, no terms more advantageous
 could be obtained. A defensive league was made
 between the two republics. They agreed, each of
 them, to banish the enemies of the other; those who
 had been concerned in the massacre of Amboyna
 were to be punished, if any remained alive;
 the honor of the flag was yielded to the English;
 eighty-five thousand pounds were stipulated to
 be paid by the Dutch East India company for
 losses, which the English company had sustained;
 and the island of Polerone in the East Indies
 was promised to be ceded to the latter.

CROMWEL, jealous of the connexions between the royal family and that of Orange, insisted on a separate article, that neither the young prince nor any of his family should ever be invested with the dignity of stadholder. The province of Holland, strongly prejudiced against that office, which they esteemed dangerous to liberty, secretly ratified this article. The protector, knowing that the other provinces would not be induced to make such a concession was satisfied with this security.

THE Dutch war, being successful, and the peace reasonable, brought credit to Cromwel's administration. An act of justice, which he exercised at home, gave likewise satisfaction to the people; though the regularity of it may perhaps appear somewhat doubtful. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portuguese ambassador, and joined with him in the same commission¹⁰, fancying himself to be insulted, came upon the exchange, armed and attended by several servants. By mistake, he fell on a gentleman, whom he took for the person that had given him the offence; and having butchered him with many wounds, he and all his attendants took shelter in the house of the Portuguese ambassador, who had connived at this base enterprise¹¹. The populace surrounded the house, and threatened to set fire to it. Cromwel sent a guard, who seized all the criminals. They were brought to trial: And

¹⁰ Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 429.

¹¹ Ibid. vol. i. p. 616.

C H A P. notwithstanding the opposition of the ambassador,
LXI. who pleaded the privileges of his office, Don
1654. Pantaleon was executed on Tower-hill. The laws of nations were here plainly violated: But the crime committed by the Portuguese gentleman was to the last degree atrocious; and the vigorous chastisement of it, suiting so well the undaunted character of Cromwel, was universally approved of at home and admired among foreign nations. The situation of Portugal obliged that court to acquiesce; and the ambassador soon after signed with the protector a treaty of peace and alliance, which was very advantageous to the English commerce.

ANOTHER act of severity, but necessary in his situation, was, at the very same time, exercised by the protector, in the capital punishment of Gerard and Vowel, two royalists, who were accused of conspiring against his life. He had erected a high court of justice for their trial; an infringement of the ancient laws, which at this time was become familiar, but one to which no custom or precedent could reconcile the nation. Juries were found altogether unmanageable. The restless Lilburn, for new offences, had been brought to a new trial; and had been acquitted with new triumph and exultation. If no other method of conviction had been devised during this illegal and unpopular government, all its enemies were assured of entire impunity.

3d of Sep-
tember.

A new par-
liament.

THE protector had occasion to observe the prejudices entertained against his government,

by the disposition of the parliament, which he summoned on the third of September, that day of the year, on which he gained his two great victories of Dunbar and Worcester, and which he always regarded as fortunate for him. It must be confessed, that, if we are left to gather Cromwel's intentions from his instrument of government, it is such a motley piece, that we cannot easily conjecture, whether he seriously meant to establish a tyranny or a republic. On one hand, a first magistrate, in so extensive a government, seemed necessary both for the dignity and tranquillity of the state; and the authority, which he assumed as protector, was, in some respects, inferior to the prerogatives, which the laws intrusted and still intrust to the king. On the other hand, the legislative power, which he reserved to himself and council, together with so great an army, independent of the parliament, were bad prognostics of his intention to submit to a civil and legal constitution. But if this were not his intention, the method, in which he distributed and conducted the elections, being so favorable to liberty, form an inconsistency which is not easily accounted for. He deprived of their right of election all the small boroughs, places the most exposed to influence and corruption. Of 400 members, which represented England, 270 were chosen by the counties. The rest were elected by London, and the more considerable corporations. The lower populace too, so easily guided or deceived, were excluded from the

C H A P. elections: An estate of 200 pounds value was
 LXI. necessary to entitle any one to a vote. The
 1654. elections of this parliament were conducted with
 perfect freedom; and, excepting that such of the
 royalists as had borne arms against the parliament
 and all their sons were excluded, a more fair
 representation of the people could not be desired
 or expected. Thirty members were returned from
 Scotland; as many from Ireland.

THE protector seems to have been disappointed, when he found, that all these precautions, which were probably nothing but covers to his ambition, had not procured him the confidence of the public. Though Cromwel's administration was less odious to every party than that of any other party, yet was it entirely acceptable to none. The royalists had been instructed by the king to remain quiet, and to cover themselves under the appearance of republicans; and they found in this latter faction such inveterate hatred against the protector, that they could not wish for more zealous adversaries to his authority. It was maintained by them, that the pretence of liberty and a popular election was but a new artifice of this great deceiver, in order to lay asleep the deluded nation, and give himself leisure to rivet their chains more securely upon them: That in the instrument of government he openly declared his intention of still retaining the same mercenary army, by whose assistance he had subdued the ancient, established government, and who would with less scruple obey him, in overturning,

whenever he should please to order them, that new system, which he himself had been pleased to model: That being sensible of the danger and uncertainty of all military government, he endeavoured to intermix some appearance, and but an appearance, of civil administration, and to balance the army by a seeming consent of the people: That the absurd trial, which he had made, of a parliament, elected by himself, appointed perpetually to elect their successors, plainly proved, that he aimed at nothing but temporary expedients, was totally averse to a free republican government, and possessed not that mature and deliberate reflection, which could qualify him to act the part of a legislator: That his imperious character, which had betrayed itself in so many incidents, could never seriously submit to legal limitations; nor would the very image of popular government be longer upheld than while conformable to his arbitrary will and pleasure: And that the best policy was to oblige him to take off the mask at once; and either submit entirely to that parliament which he had summoned, or by totally rejecting its authority, leave himself no resource but in his seditious and enthusiastic army.

IN prosecution of these views, the parliament, having heard the protector's speech, three hours long¹², and having chosen Lenthal for their speaker, immediately entered into a discussion of

¹² Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 588.

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the pretended instrument of government, and of that authority, which Cromwel, by the title of protector, had assumed over the nation. The greatest liberty was used in arraigning this new dignity; and even the personal character and conduct of Cromwel escaped not without censure. The utmost, that could be obtained by the officers and by the court party, for so they were called, was to protract the debate by arguments and long speeches, and prevent the decision of a question, which, they were sensible, would be carried against them by a great majority. The protector, surpris'd and enraged at this refractory spirit in the parliament, which however he had so much reason to expect, sent for them to the painted chamber, and with an air of great authority inveighed against their conduct. He told them, that nothing could be more absurd than for them to dispute his title; since the same instrument of government, which made them a parliament, had invested him with the protectorship; that some points in the new constitution were supposed to be fundamentals, and were not, on any pretence, to be altered or disputed; that among these were the government of the nation by a single person and a parliament, their joint authority over the army and militia, the succession of new parliaments, and liberty of conscience; and that, with regard to these particulars, there was reserved to him a negative voice, to which, in the other circumstances of government, he confessed himself nowise entitled.

THE

THE protector now found the necessity of exacting a security, which, had he foreseen the spirit of the house, he would with better grace have required at their first meeting¹³. He obliged the members to sign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propose or consent to any alteration in the government, as it was settled in a single person and a parliament; and he placed guards at the door of the house, who allowed none but subscribers to enter. Most of the members, after some hesitation, submitted to this condition; but retained the same refractory spirit, which they had discovered in their first debates. The instrument of government was taken in pieces, and examined, article by article, with the most scrupulous accuracy: Very free topics were advanced with the general approbation of the house: And during the whole course of their proceedings, they neither sent up one bill to the protector, nor took any notice of him. Being informed, that conspiracies were entered into between the members and some malecontent officers; he hastened to the dissolution of so dangerous an assembly. By the instrument of government, to which he had sworn, no parliament could be dissolved, till it had sitten five months; but Cromwel pretended, that a month contained only twenty-eight days, according to the method of computation practised in paying the fleet and army. The full time, therefore,

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22d of Jan.

¹³ Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 620.

C H A P. according to this reckoning, being elapsed; the
 LXI. parliament was ordered to attend the protector,
 1655. who made them a tedious, confused, angry harangue, and dismissed them. Were we to judge of Cromwel's capacity by this, and indeed by all his other compositions, we should be apt to entertain no very favorable idea of it. But in the great variety of human geniuses, there are some, which, though they see their object clearly and distinctly in general; yet, when they come to unfold its parts by discourse or writing, lose that luminous conception, which they had before attained. All accounts agree in ascribing to Cromwel a tiresome, dark, unintelligible elocution, even when he had no intention to disguise his meaning: Yet no man's actions were ever, in such a variety of difficult incidents, more decisive and judicious.

THE electing of a discontented parliament is a proof of a discontented nation: The angry and abrupt dissolution of that parliament is always sure to increase the general discontent. The members of this assembly, returning to their counties, propagated that spirit of mutiny, which they had exerted in the house. Sir Harry Vane and the old republicans, who maintained the indissoluble authority of the long parliament, encouraged the murmurs against the present usurpation; though they acted so cautiously as to give the protector no handle against them. Wildman and some others of that party carried still farther their conspiracies against the protector's

authority. The royalists, observing this general ill will towards the establishment, could no longer be retained in subjection; but fancied, that every one, who was dissatisfied like them, had also embraced the same views and inclinations. They did not consider, that the old parliamentary party, though many of them were displeased with Cromwel, who had dispossessed them of their power, were still more apprehensive of any success to the royal cause; whence, besides a certain prospect of the same consequence, they had so much reason to dread the severest vengeance for their past transgressions.

IN concert with the king a conspiracy was entered into by the royalists throughout England, and a day of general rising appointed. Information of this design was conveyed to Cromwel. The protector's administration was extremely vigilant. Thurloe, his secretary, had spies every where. Manning, who had access to the king's family, kept a regular correspondence with him. And it was not difficult to obtain intelligence of a confederacy, so generally diffused among a party, who valued themselves more on zeal and courage, than on secrecy and sobriety. Many of the royalists were thrown into prison. Others, on the approach of the day, were terrified with the danger of the undertaking, and remained at home. In one place alone the conspiracy broke into action. Penruddoc, Groves, Jones, and other gentlemen of the west, entered Salisbury with about 200 horse; at the very time when the

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Insurrection
of the royal-
ists.

11th of
March.

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1655. sheriff and judges were holding the assizes. These they made prisoners; and they proclaimed the king. Contrary to their expectations, they received no accession of force; so prevalent was the terror of the established government. Having in vain wandered about for some time, they were totally discouraged; and one troop of horse was able at last to suppress them. The leaders of the conspiracy, being taken prisoners, were capitally punished. The rest were sold for slaves, and transported to Barbadoes.

THE easy subduing of this insurrection, which, by the boldness of the undertaking, struck at first a great terror into the nation, was a singular felicity to the protector; who could not, without danger, have brought together any considerable body of his mutinous army, in order to suppress it. The very insurrection itself he regarded as a fortunate event; since it proved the reality of those conspiracies, which his enemies, on every occasion, represented as mere fictions, invented to color his tyrannical severities. He resolved to keep no longer any terms with the royalists, who, though they were not perhaps the most implacable of his enemies, were those whom he could oppress under the most plausible pretences, and who met with least countenance and protection from his adherents. He issued an edict with the consent of his council, for exacting the tenth penny from that whole party; in order, as he pretended, to make them pay the expenses, to which their mutinous disposition continually

exposed the public. Without regard to compositions, articles of capitulation, or acts of indemnity, all the royalists, however harassed with former oppressions, were obliged a-new to redeem themselves by great sums of money; and many of them were reduced by these multiplied disasters to extreme poverty. Whoever was known to be disaffected, or even lay under any suspicion, though no guilt could be proved against him, was exposed to the new exaction.

IN order to raise this imposition, which commonly passed by the name of decimation, the protector instituted twelve major-generals; and divided the whole kingdom of England into so many military jurisdictions¹⁴. These men, assisted by commissioners, had power to subject whom they pleased to decimation, to levy all the taxes imposed by the protector and his council, and to imprison any person who should be exposed to their jealousy or suspicion; nor was there any appeal from them but to the protector himself and his council. Under color of these powers, which were sufficiently exorbitant, the major-generals exercised an authority still more arbitrary, and acted as if absolute masters of the property and person of every subject. All reasonable men now concluded, that the very mask of liberty was thrown aside, and that the nation was for ever subjected to military and despotic government, exercised not in the legal manner of Eu-

¹⁴ Parl. Hist. vol. xx. p. 433.

O H A P. ropean nations, but according to the maxims of
 LXI. eastern tyranny. Not only the supreme magistrate
 1655. owed his authority to illegal force and usurpation:
 He had parcelled out the people into so many
 subdivisions of slavery, and had delegated to his
 inferior ministers the same unlimited authority,
 which he himself had so violently assumed.

State of
 Europe.

A GOVERNMENT, totally military and despotic, is almost sure, after some time, to fall into impotence and languor: But when it immediately succeeds a legal constitution, it may, at first, to foreign nations appear very vigorous and active, and may exert with more unanimity that power, spirit, and riches, which had been acquired under a better form. It seems now proper, after so long an interval, to look abroad to the general state of Europe, and to consider the measures, which England, at this time, embraced in its negotiations with the neighbouring princes. The moderate temper and unwarlike genius of the two last princes, the extreme difficulties under which they labored at home, and the great security which they enjoyed from foreign enemies, had rendered them negligent of the transactions on the continent; and England, during their reigns, had been, in a manner, overlooked in the general system of Europe. The bold and restless genius of the protector led him to extend his alliances and enterprises to every part of Christendom; and partly from the ascendant of his magnanimous spirit, partly from the situation of foreign kingdoms, the weight of England, even under its

most legal and bravest princes, was never more sensibly felt than during this unjust and violent usurpation.

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A WAR of thirty years, the most signal and most destructive that had appeared in modern annals, was at last finished in Germany¹⁵; and by the treaty of Westphalia, were composed those fatal quarrels, which had been excited by the palatine's precipitate acceptance of the crown of Bohemia. The young palatine was restored to part of his dignities and of his dominions¹⁶. The rights, privileges, and authority of the several members of the Germanic body were fixed and ascertained: Sovereign princes and free states were in some degree reduced to obedience under laws: And by the valor of the heroic Gustavus, the enterprises of the active Richelieu, the intrigues of the artful Mazarine, was in part effected, after an infinite expence of blood and treasure, what had been fondly expected and loudly demanded from the feeble efforts of the pacific James, seconded by the scanty supplies of his jealous parliaments.

SWEDEN, which had acquired by conquest large dominions in the north of Germany, was engaged in enterprises, which promised her, from her success and valor, still more extensive

¹⁵ In 1648.

¹⁶ This prince, during the civil wars, had much neglected his uncle and paid court to the parliament: He accepted of a pension of 8000l. a year from them, and took a place in their assembly of divines.

C H A P. acquisitions on the side both of Poland and of
 LXI. Denmark. Charles X. who had mounted the
 1655. throne of that kingdom after the voluntary re-
 signation of Christina, being stimulated by the
 fame of Gustavus as well as by his own martial
 disposition, carried his conquering arms to the
 south of the Baltic, and gained the celebrated
 battle of Warsaw, which had been obstinately
 disputed during the space of three days. The
 protector, at the time his alliance was courted
 by every power in Europe, anxiously courted
 the alliance of Sweden; and he was fond of
 forming a confederacy with a protestant power
 of such renown, even though it threatened the
 whole north with conquest and subjection.

THE transactions of the parliament and protector
 with France had been various and complicated.
 The emissaries of Richelieu had furnished fuel
 to the flame of rebellion, when it first broke out
 in Scotland; but after the conflagration had dif-
 fused itself, the French court, observing the
 materials to be of themselves sufficiently com-
 bustible, found it unnecessary any longer to
 animate the British malecontents to an opposition
 of their sovereign. On the contrary, they offered
 their mediation for composing these intestine
 disorders; and their ambassadors, from decency,
 pretended to act in concert with the court of
 England, and to receive directions from a prince,
 with whom their master was connected with so
 near an affinity. Meanwhile, Richelieu died,
 and soon after him, the French king, Louis XIII.

leaving his son an infant four years old, and his widow, Anne of Austria, regent of the kingdom. Cardinal Mazarine succeeded Richelieu in the ministry; and the same general plan of policy, though by men of such opposite characters, was still continued in the French counsels. The establishment of royal authority, the reduction of the Austrian family, were pursued with ardor and success; and every year brought an accession of force and grandeur to the French monarchy. Not only battles were won, towns and fortresses taken; the genius too of the nation seemed gradually to improve, and to compose itself to the spirit of dutiful obedience and of steady enterprise. A Condé, a Turenne were formed; and the troops, animated by their valor, and guided by their discipline, acquired every day a greater ascendant over the Spaniards. All of a sudden, from some intrigues of the court, and some discontents in the courts of judicature, intestine commotions were excited, and every thing relapsed into confusion. But these rebellions of the French, neither ennobled by the spirit of liberty, nor disgraced by the fanatical extravagances, which distinguished the British civil wars, were conducted with little bloodshed, and made but a small impression on the minds of the people. Though seconded by the force of Spain, and conducted by the prince of Condé, the malecontents, in a little time, were either expelled or subdued; and the French monarchy, having lost a few of its conquests, returned, with fresh vigor, to the acquisition of new dominion.

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THE queen of England and her son, Charles; during these commotions, passed most of their time at Paris; and notwithstanding their near connexion of blood, received but few civilities, and still less support, from the French court. Had the queen regent been ever so much inclined to assist the English prince, the disorders of her own affairs, would, for a long time, have rendered such intentions impracticable. The banished queen had a moderate pension assigned her; but it was so ill paid, and her credit ran so low, that, one morning, when the cardinal de Retz waited on her, she informed him, that her daughter, the princess Henrietta, was obliged to lie a-bed, for want of a fire to warm her. To such a condition was reduced, in the midst of Paris, a queen of England, and daughter of Henry IV. of France!

THE English parliament, however, having assumed the sovereignty of the state, resented the countenance, cold as it was, which the French court gave to the unfortunate monarch. On pretence of injuries, of which the English merchants complained, they issued letters of reprisal upon the French; and Blake went so far as to attack and seize a whole squadron of ships, which were carrying supplies to Dunkirk, then closely besieged by the Spaniards. That town, disappointed of these supplies, fell into the hands of the enemy. The French ministers soon found it necessary to change their measures. They treated Charles with such affected indifference,

that he thought it more decent to withdraw, and prevent the indignity of being desired to leave the kingdom. He went first to Spaw, thence he retired to Cologne; where he lived two years, on a small pension, about 6000 pounds a year, paid him by the court of France, and on some contributions sent him by his friends in England. In the management of his family, he discovered a disposition to order and œconomy; and his temper, cheerful, careless, and sociable, was more than a sufficient compensation for that empire, of which his enemies had bereaved him. Sir Edward Hyde, created lord-chancellor, and the marquis of Ormond, were his chief friends and confidents.

IF the French ministry had thought it prudent to bend under the English parliament, they deemed it still more necessary to pay deference to the protector, when he assumed the reins of government. Cardinal Mazarine, by whom all the councils of France were directed, was artful and vigilant, supple and patient, false and intriguing; desirous rather to prevail by dexterity than violence, and placing his honor more in the final success of his measures, than in the splendor and magnanimity of the means, which he employed. Cromwel, by his imperious character, rather than by the advantage of his situation, acquired an ascendant over this man; and every proposal made by the protector, however unreasonable in itself and urged with whatever insolence, met with a ready compliance

C H A P. from the politic and timid cardinal. Bourdeaux
 LXI. was sent over to England as minister; and all
 1655. circumstances of respect were paid to the daring
 usurper, who had imbrued his hands in the blood
 of his sovereign, a prince so nearly related to
 the royal family of France. With indefatigable
 patience did Bourdeaux conduct this negociation,
 which Cromwel seemed entirely to neglect; and
 though privateers with English commissions com-
 mitted daily depredations on the French commerce,
 Mazarine was content, in hopes of a fortunate
 issue, still to submit to these indignities ¹⁷.

THE court of Spain, less connected with the
 unfortunate royal family, and reduced to greater
 distress than the French monarchy, had been
 still more forward in her advances to the pros-
 perous parliament and protector. Don Alonzo
 de Cardenas, the Spanish envoy, was the first
 public minister, who recognized the authority
 of the new republic; and in return for this
 civility, Ascham was sent envoy into Spain by
 the parliament. No sooner had this minister
 arrived in Madrid, than some of the banished
 royalists, inflamed by that inveterate hatred,
 which animated the English factions, broke into
 his chamber, and murdered him together with
 his secretary. Immediately, they took sanctuary

¹⁷ Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 103. 619. 653. In the treaty,
 which was signed after long negociation, the protector's
 name was inserted before the French king's in that copy
 which remained in England. Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 116.
 See farther, vol. vii. p. 178.

in the churches; and, assisted by the general favor, which every where attended the royal cause, were enabled, most of them, to make their escape. Only one of the criminals suffered death; and the parliament seemed to rest satisfied with this atonement.

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SPAIN, at this time, assailed every where by vigorous enemies from without, and laboring under many internal disorders, retained nothing of her former grandeur, except the haughty pride of her counsels, and the hatred and jealousy of her neighbours. Portugal had rebelled, and established her monarchy in the house of Braganza: Catalonia, complaining of violated privileges, had revolted to France: Naples was shaken with popular convulsions: The Low Countries were invaded with superior forces, and seemed ready to change their master: The Spanish infantry, anciently so formidable, had been annihilated by Condé in the fields of Rocroy: And though the same prince, banished France, sustained by his activity and valor, the falling fortunes of Spain, he could only hope to protract, not prevent, the ruin, with which that monarchy was visibly threatened.

HAD Cromwel understood and regarded the interests of his country, he would have supported the declining condition of Spain against the dangerous ambition of France, and preserved that balance of power, on which the greatness and security of England so much depend. Had he studied only his own interests, he would have

C H A P. maintained an exact neutrality between those
 LXI. great monarchies; nor would he have hazarded
 1655. his ill-acquired and unsettled power, by provoking foreign enemies, who might lend assistance to domestic faction, and overturn his tottering throne. But his magnanimity undervalued danger: His active disposition and avidity of extensive glory, made him incapable of repose: And as the policy of men is continually warped by their temper, no sooner was peace made with Holland, than he began to deliberate what new enemy he should invade with his victorious arms.

War with
Spain.

THE extensive empire and yet extreme weakness of Spain in the West Indies; the vigorous courage and great naval power of England; were circumstances, which, when compared, excited the ambition of the enterprising protector, and made him hope, that he might, by some gainful conquest, render for ever illustrious that dominion, which he had assumed over his country. Should he fail of these durable acquisitions, the Indian treasures, which must every year cross the ocean to reach Spain, were, he thought, a sure prey to the English navy, and would support his military force, without his laying new burthens on the discontented people. From France a vigorous resistance must be expected: No plunder, no conquests could be hoped for: The progress of his arms, even if attended with success, must there be slow and gradual; and the advantages acquired, however real, would be less striking to the multitude,

whom it was his interest to allure. The royal family, so closely connected with the French monarch, might receive great assistance from that neighbouring kingdom; and an army of French protestants, landed in England, would be able, he dreaded, to unite the most opposite factions against the present usurpation¹⁸.

THESE motives of policy were probably seconded by his bigotted prejudices; as no human mind ever contained so strange a mixture of sagacity and absurdity as that of this extraordinary personage. The Swedish alliance, though much contrary to the interests of England, he had contracted, merely from his zeal for protestantism¹⁹; and Sweden being closely connected with France, he could not hope to maintain that confederacy, in which he so much prided himself, should a rupture ensue between England and this latter kingdom²⁰. The Hugonots, he expected, would meet with better treatment, while he engaged in a close union with their sovereign²¹. And as the Spaniards were much more papists than the French, were much more exposed to the old puritanical hatred²², and had even erected

¹⁸ See the account of the negotiations with France and Spain by Thurloe, vol. i. p. 759.

¹⁹ He proposed to Sweden a general league and confederacy of all the protestants. Whitlocke, p. 620. Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 1. In order to judge of the maxims, by which he conducted his foreign politics, see farther Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 295.

343. 443. vol. vii. p. 174. ²⁰ Thurloe, vol. i. p. 759.

²¹ Thurloe, vol. i. p. 759.

²² Id. *ibid.*

C H A P. the bloody tribunal of the inquisition, whose
 LXI. rigors they had refused to mitigate on Crom-
 1655. wel's sollicitation ²³; he hoped that a holy and
 meritorious war with such idolaters could not fail
 of protection from heaven ²⁴. A preacher like-
 wise, inspired, as was supposed, by a prophetic
 spirit, bid him *go and prosper*; calling him *a stone*
cut out of the mountains without hands, that would
break the pride of the Spaniard, crush Antichrist,
and make way for the purity of the Gospel over the
whole world ²⁵.

ACTUATED equally by these bigotted, these
 ambitious, and these interested motives, the pro-
 tector equipped two considerable squadrons; and
 while he was making those preparations, the
 neighbouring states, ignorant of his intentions,
 remained in suspense, and looked with anxious
 expectation on what side the storm should dis-
 charge itself. One of these squadrons, consisting
 of thirty capital ships, was sent into the Mediter-
 ranean under Blake, whose fame was now spread
 over Europe. No English fleet, except during
 the Crusades, had ever before sailed in those
 seas; and from one extremity to the other, there
 was no naval force, Christian or Mahometan,
 able to resist them. The Roman pontiff, whose
 weakness and whose pride equally provoke

²³ Thurloe, vol. i. p. 759. Don Alonzo said, that the Indian
 trade and the inquisition were his master's two eyes, and the
 protector insisted upon the putting out both of them at once.

²⁴ Carrington, p. 191. ²⁵ Bates.

attacks, dreaded invasion from a power, which C H A P.
 professed the most inveterate enmity against LXI.
 him, and which so little regulated its move- 1655.
 ments by the usual motives of interest and pru-
 dence. Blake, casting anchor before Leghorn,
 demanded and obtained from the duke of Tus-
 cany reparation for some losses, which the English
 commerce had formerly sustained from him. He
 next sailed to Algiers, and compelled the dey
 to make peace, and to restrain his piratical sub-
 jects from farther violences on the English. He
 presented himself before Tunis; and having there
 made the same demands, the dey of that republic
 bade him look to the castles of Porto-Farino and
 Goletta, and do his utmost. Blake needed not
 to be roused by such a bravado: He drew his
 ships close up to the castles, and tore them in
 pieces with his artillery. He sent a numerous
 detachment of sailors in their long boats into the
 harbour, and burned every ship which lay there.
 This bold action, which its very temerity, perhaps,
 rendered safe, was executed with little loss, and
 filled all that part of the world with the renown
 of English valor.

THE other squadron was not equally successful. Jamaica
 It was commanded by Pen, and carried on board conquered,
 4000 men under the command of Venables. About
 5000 more joined them from Barbadoes and St.
 Christopher's. Both these officers were inclined
 to the king's service ²⁶; and it is pretended, that

²⁶ Clarendon.
 VOL. X.

G H A P. Cromwel was obliged to hurry the soldiers on
 LXI. board, in order to prevent the execution of a
 1655. conspiracy which had been formed among them,
 in favor of the exiled family ²⁷. The ill success
 of this enterprise may justly be ascribed, as much
 to the injudicious schemes of the protector, who
 planned it, as to the bad execution of the officers,
 by whom it was conducted. The soldiers were
 the refuse of the whole army: The forces, enlisted
 in the West Indies, were the most profligate of
 mankind: Pen and Venables were of incompatible
 tempers: The troops were not furnished with
 arms fit for such an expedition: Their provisions
 were defective both in quantity and quality:
 All hopes of pillage, the best incentive to valor
 among such men, were refused the soldiers and
 seamen: No directions or intelligence were given
 to conduct the officers in their enterprise: And
 at the same time, they were tied down to follow
 the advice of commissioners, who disconcerted
 them in all their projects ²⁸.

13th April. It was agreed by the admiral and general to
 attempt St. Domingo, the only place of strength
 in the island of Hispaniola. On the approach of
 the English the Spaniards in a fright deserted
 their houses, and fled into the woods. Contrary
 to the opinion of Venables, the soldiers were
 disembarked without guides ten leagues distant

²⁷ Vita D. Berwici, p. 124.

²⁸ Burchet's Naval History. See also Carte's Collection
 vol. ii. p. 46, 47. Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 505.

from the town. They wandered four days through the woods without provisions, and what was still more intolerable in that sultry climate, without water. The Spaniards recovered spirit, and attacked them. The English, discouraged with the bad conduct of their officers, and scarcely alive from hunger, thirst, and fatigue, were unable to resist. An inconsiderable number of the enemy put the whole army to rout, killed 600 of them, and chased the rest on board their vessels.

THE English commanders, in order to atone, as much as possible, for this unprosperous attempt, bent their course to Jamaica, which was surrendered to them without a blow. Pen and Venables returned to England, and were both of them sent to the Tower by the protector, who, though commonly master of his fiery temper, was thrown into a violent passion at this disappointment. He had made a conquest of greater importance, than he was himself at that time aware of; yet was it much inferior to the vast projects, which he had formed. He gave orders, however, to support it by men and money; and that island has ever since remained in the hands of the English; the chief acquisition which they owe to the enterprising spirit of Cromwel.

As soon as the news of this expedition, which was an unwarrantable violation of treaty, arrived in Europe, the Spaniards declared war against England, and seized all the ships and goods of

C H A P. LXI. English merchants, of which they could make themselves masters. The commerce with Spain, so profitable to the English, was cut off; and near 1500 vessels, it is computed²⁹, fell in a few years into the hands of the enemy. Blake, to whom Montague was now joined in command, after receiving new orders, prepared himself for hostilities against the Spaniards.

SEVERAL sea officers, having entertained scruples of conscience with regard to the justice of the Spanish war, threw up their commissions, and retired³⁰. No commands, they thought, of their superiors could justify a war, which was contrary to the principles of natural equity, and which the civil magistrate had no right to order. Individuals, they maintained, in resigning to the public their natural liberty, could bestow on it only what they themselves were possessed of, a right of performing lawful actions, and could invest it with no authority of commanding what is contrary to the decrees of heaven. Such maxims, though they seem reasonable, are perhaps too perfect for human nature; and must be regarded as one effect, though of the most innocent and even honorable kind, of that spirit, partly fanatical, partly republican, which predominated in England.

Successe.

BLAKE lay some time off Cadiz, in expectation

²⁹ Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 135. World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwel, in the Harl. Miscel. vol. i.

³⁰ Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 570. 589.

of intercepting the plate fleet, but was at last obliged, for want of water, to make sail towards Portugal. Captain Stayner, whom he had left on the coast with a squadron of seven vessels, came in sight of the galleons, and immediately set sail to pursue them. The Spanish admiral ran his ship ashore: Two others followed his example: The English took two ships valued at near two millions of pieces of eight. Two galleons were set on fire; and the marquis of Badajox, viceroy of Peru, with his wife and his daughter, betrothed to the young duke of Medina Celi, were destroyed in them. The marquis himself might have escaped; but seeing these unfortunate women, astonished with the danger, fall in a swoon, and perish in the flames, he rather chose to die with them than drag out a life, embittered with the remembrance of such dismal scenes³¹. When the treasures, gained by this enterprise, arrived at Portsmouth, the protector, from a spirit of ostentation, ordered them to be transported by land to London.

THE next action against the Spaniards was more honorable, though less profitable, to the nation. Blake, having heard that a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships, much richer than the former, had taken shelter in the Canaries, immediately made sail towards them. He found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, disposed in a formidable posture. The bay was secured with a strong

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September.

³¹ Thurlow, vol. v. p. 433.

C H A P. castle, well provided with cannon, besides seven
 LXL. forts in several parts of it, all united by a line
 1656. of communication, manned with musketeers. Don
 Diego Diagues, the Spanish admiral, ordered all
 his smaller vessels to moor close to the shore,
 and posted the larger galleons farther off, at
 anchor, with their broadsides to the sea.

BLAKE was rather animated than daunted with
 this appearance. The wind seconded his courage,
 and blowing full into the bay, in a moment
 brought him among the thickest of his enemies.
 After a resistance of four hours, the Spaniards
 yielded to English valor, and abandoned their
 ships, which were set on fire, and consumed
 with all their treasure. The greatest danger still
 remained to the English. They lay under the
 fire of the castles and all the forts, which must,
 in a little time, have torn them in pieces. But
 the wind, suddenly shifting, carried them out
 of the bay; where they left the Spaniards in
 astonishment at the happy temerity of their au-
 dacious victors.

And death
 of admiral
 Blake.

THIS was the last and greatest action of the
 gallant Blake. He was consumed with a dropsy
 and scurvy, and hastened home, that he might
 yield up his breath in his native country, which
 he had so much adorned by his valor. As he
 came within sight of land, he expired³². Never
 man, so zealous for a faction, was so much
 respected and esteemed even by the opposite

³² 20th of April, 1657.

factions. He was by principle an inflexible republican; and the late usurpations, amidst all the trust and caresses, which he received from the ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. *It is still our duty*, he said to the seamen, *to fight for our country, into what hands soever the government may fall.* Disinterested, generous, liberal; ambitious only of true glory, dreadful only to his avowed enemies; he forms one of the most perfect characters of the age, and the least stained with those errors and violences, which were then so predominant. The protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public charge: But the tears of his countrymen were the most honorable panegyric on his memory.

THE conduct of the protector in foreign affairs, though imprudent and impolitic, was full of vigor and enterprise, and drew a consideration to his country, which, since the reign of Elizabeth, it seemed to have totally lost. The great mind of this successful usurper was intent on spreading the renown of the English nation; and while he struck mankind with astonishment at his extraordinary fortune, he seemed to ennoble, instead of debasing, that people, whom he had reduced to subjection. It was his boast, that he would render the name of an Englishman as much feared and revered as ever was that of a Roman; and as his countrymen found some reality in these pretensions, their national vanity, being gratified, made them bear with more patience

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LXI.

1656.

C H A P. all the indignities and calamities, under which
LXI. they labored.

1656.
Domestic
administra-
tion of
Cromwel.

IT must also be acknowledged, that the protector, in his civil and domestic administration, displayed as great regard both to justice and clemency, as his usurped authority, derived from no law, and founded only on the sword, could possibly permit. All the chief offices in the courts of judicature were filled with men of integrity: Amidst the virulence of faction, the decrees of the judges were upright and impartial: And to every man but himself, and to himself, except where necessity required the contrary, the law was the great rule of conduct and behaviour. Vane and Lilburn, whose credit with the republicans and levellers he dreaded, were indeed for some time confined to prison: Cony, who refused to pay illegal taxes, was obliged by menaces to depart from his obstinacy: High courts of justice were erected to try those who had engaged in conspiracies and insurrections against the protector's authority, and whom he could not safely commit to the verdict of juries. But these irregularities were deemed inevitable consequences of his illegal authority. And though often urged by his officers, as is pretended³³, to attempt a general massacre of the royalists, he always with horror rejected such sanguinary counsels.

IN the army was laid the sole basis of the protector's power; and in managing it consisted the

³³ Clarendon, Life of Dr. Berwick, &c.

chief art and delicacy of his government. The soldiers were held in exact discipline; a policy, which both accustomed them to obedience, and made them less hateful and burthensome to the people. He augmented their pay; though the public necessities sometimes obliged him to run in arrears to them. Their interests, they were sensible, were closely connected with those of their general and protector. And he entirely commanded their affectionate regard, by his abilities and success in almost every enterprise, which he had hitherto undertaken. But all military government is precarious; much more where it stands in opposition to civil establishments; and still more, where it encounters religious prejudices. By the wild fanaticism, which he had nourished in the soldiers, he had seduced them into measures, for which, if openly proposed to them, they would have entertained the utmost aversion. But this same spirit rendered them more difficult to be governed, and made their caprices terrible even to that hand, which directed their movements. So often taught, that the office of king was an usurpation upon Christ, they were apt to suspect a protector not to be altogether compatible with that divine authority. Harrison, though raised to the highest dignity, and possessed of Cromwel's confidence, became his most inveterate enemy as soon as the authority of a single person was established, against which that usurper had always made such violent protestations. Overton, Rich, Okey, officers of

CHAP. rank in the army, were actuated with like principles, and Cromwel was obliged to deprive them
 LXI. of their commissions. Their influence, which
 1656. was before thought unbounded among the troops, seemed from that moment to be totally annihilated.

THE more effectually to curb the enthusiastic and seditious spirit of the troops, Cromwel established a kind of militia in the several counties. Companies of infantry and cavalry were enlisted under proper officers, regular pay distributed among them, and a resource by that means provided both against the insurrections of the royalists, and mutiny of the army.

RELIGION can never be deemed a point of small consequence in civil government: But during this period, it may be regarded as the great spring of men's actions and determinations. Though transported, himself, with the most frantic whims, Cromwel had adopted a scheme for regulating this principle in others, which was sagacious and political. Being resolved to maintain a national church, yet determined neither to admit episcopacy nor presbytery, he established a number of commissioners, under the name of *triers*, partly laymen, partly ecclesiastics, some presbyterians, some independents. These presented to all livings, which were formerly in the gift of the crown; they examined and admitted such persons as received holy orders; and they inspected the lives, doctrine, and behaviour of the clergy. Instead of supporting that union between learning and theology, which has so long been attempted

in Europe, these triers embraced the latter principle in its full purity, and made it the sole object of their examination. The candidates were no more perplexed with questions concerning their progress in Greek and Roman erudition; concerning their talent for profane arts and sciences: The chief object of scrutiny regarded their advances in grace, and fixing the critical moment of their conversion.

WITH the pretended saints of all denominations, Cromwel was familiar and easy. Laying aside the state of protector, which, on other occasions, he well knew how to maintain, he insinuated to them, that nothing but necessity could ever oblige him to invest himself with it. He talked spiritually to them; he sighed, he weeped, he canted, he prayed. He even entered with them into an emulation of ghostly gifts, and these men, instead of grieving to be outdone in their own way, were proud, that his highness, by his princely example, had dignified those practices, in which they themselves were daily occupied ³⁴.

³⁴ Cromwel followed, though but in part, the advice which he received from general Harrison, at the time when the intimacy and endearment most strongly subsisted betwixt them. "Let the waiting upon Jehovah," said that military saint, "be the greatest and most considerable business you have every day: Reckon it so, more than to eat, sleep, and council together. Run aside sometimes from your company, and get a word with the Lord. Why should not you have three or four precious souls always standing at your elbow, with whom you might now and then turn into a corner; I have found refreshment and mercy in such a way."

Milton's State papers, p. 12.

C H A P. LXI. 1656. IF Cromwel might be said to adhere to any particular form of religion, they were the independents who could chiefly boast of his favor; and it may be affirmed, that such pastors of that sect, as were not passionately addicted to civil liberty, were all of them devoted to him. The presbyterian clergy also, saved from the ravages of the anabaptists and millenarians, and enjoying their establishments and tithes, were not averse to his government; though he still entertained a great jealousy of that ambitious and restless spirit, by which they were actuated. He granted an unbounded liberty of conscience, to all but catholics and prelatists; and by that means, he both attached the wild sectaries to his person, and employed them in curbing the domineering spirit of the presbyterians. "I am the only man," he was often heard to say, "who has known how to subdue that insolent sect, which can suffer none but itself."

THE protestant zeal, which possessed the presbyterians and independents, was highly gratified by the haughty manner, in which the protector so successfully supported the persecuted protestants throughout all Europe. Even the duke of Savoy, so remote a power, and so little exposed to the naval force of England, was obliged, by the authority of France, to comply with his mediation, and to tolerate the protestants of the vallies, against whom that prince had commenced a furious persecution. France itself was constrained to bear, not only with the religion, but even,

in some instances, with the seditious insolence of the Hugonots ; and when the French court applied for a reciprocal toleration of the catholic religion in England, the protector, who arrogated in every thing the superiority, would hearken to no such proposal. He had entertained a project of instituting a college in imitation of that at Rome, for the propagation of the faith ; and his apostles, in zeal, though not in unanimity, had certainly been a full match for the catholics.

CROMWEL retained the church of England in constraint ; though he permitted its clergy a little more liberty than the republican parliament had formerly allowed. He was pleased, that the superior lenity of his administration should in every thing be remarked. He bridled the royalists, both by the army which he retained, and by those secret spies, which he found means to intermix in all their counsels. Manning being detected and punished with death, he corrupted Sir Richard Willis, who was much trusted by chancellor Hyde and all the royalists ; and by means of this man he was let into every design and conspiracy of the party. He could disconcert any project, by confining the persons who were to be the actors in it ; and as he restored them afterwards to liberty, his severity passed only for the result of general jealousy and suspicion. The secret source of his intelligence remained still unknown and unsuspected.

CONSPIRACIES for an assassination he was chiefly afraid of ; these being designs, which no prudence

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C H A P. or vigilance could evade. Colonel Titus, under
 LXI. the name of Allen, had written a spirited dis-
 1656. course, exhorting every one to embrace this
 method of vengeance; and Cromwel knew, that
 the inflamed minds of the royal party were suffi-
 ciently disposed to put the doctrine in practice
 against him. He openly told them, that assassina-
 tions were base and odious, and he never would
 commence hostilities by so shameful an expedient;
 but if the first attempt or provocation came from
 them, he would retaliate to the uttermost. He
 had instruments, he said, whom he could em-
 ploy; and he never would desist, till he had
 totally exterminated the royal family. This me-
 nace, more than all his guards, contributed to
 the security of his person³⁵.

THERE was no point about which the protector
 was more solicitous than to procure intelligence.
 This article alone, it is said, cost him sixty
 thousand pounds a year. Postmasters, both at
 home and abroad, were in his pay: Carriers were
 searched or bribed: Secretaries and clerks were
 corrupted: The greatest zealots in all parties were
 often those who conveyed private information to
 him: And nothing could escape his vigilant in-
 quiry. Such at least is the representation made
 by historians of Cromwel's administration: But
 it must be confessed, that, if we may judge by
 those volumes of Thurloe's papers, which have
 been lately published, this affair, like many

³⁵ See note [I] at the end of the volume.

others, has been greatly magnified. We scarcely find by that collection, that any secret counsels of foreign states, except those of Holland, which are not expected to be concealed, were known to the protector.

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THE general behaviour and deportment of this man, who had been raised from a very private station, who had passed most of his youth in the country, and who was still constrained so much to frequent bad company, was such as might besit the greatest monarch. He maintained a dignity without either affectation or ostentation; and supported with all strangers that high idea, with which his great exploits and prodigious fortune had impressed them. Among his ancient friends, he could relax himself; and by trifling and amusement, jesting and making verses, he feared not exposing himself to their most familiar approaches³⁶. With others, he sometimes pushed matters to the length of rustic buffoonery; and he would amuse himself by putting burning coals into the boots and hose of the officers, who attended him³⁷. Before the king's trial, a meeting was agreed on between the chiefs of the republican party and the general officers, in order to concert the model of that free government, which they were to substitute, in the room of the monarchical constitution, now totally subverted. After debates on this subject, the most important, that could fall under the discussion of human

³⁶ Whitlocke, p. 647.

³⁷ Bates.

C H A P. creatures, Ludlow tells us, that Cromwel, by
 LXI. way of frolic, threw a cushion at his head; and
 1656. when Ludlow took up another cushion, in order
 to return the compliment, the general ran down
 stairs, and had almost fallen in the hurry. When
 the high court of justice was signing the warrant
 for the execution of the king, a matter, if possible,
 still more serious; Cromwel, taking the pen in
 his hand, before he subscribed his name, bedaubed
 with ink the face of Martin, who sat next him.
 And the pen being delivered to Martin, he
 practised the same frolic upon Cromwel³⁸. He
 frequently gave feasts to his inferior officers; and
 when the meat was set upon the table, a signal
 was given; the soldiers rushed in upon them; and
 with much noise, tumult, and confusion, ran
 away with all the dishes, and disappointed the
 guests of their expected meal³⁹.

THAT vein of frolic and pleasantry, which made
 a part, however inconsistent, of Cromwel's cha-
 racter, was apt sometimes to betray him into
 other inconsistencies, and to discover itself even
 where religion might seem to be a little concerned.
 It is a tradition, that, one day, sitting at table,
 the protector had a bottle of wine brought him,
 of a kind which he valued so highly, that he must
 needs open the bottle himself: But in attempting
 it, the cork-screw dropt from his hand. Imme-
 diately his courtiers and generals flung themselves
 on the floor, to recover it. Cromwel burst out a

³⁸ Trial of the regicides.³⁹ Bates.

laughing.

laughing. *Should any fool, said he, put in his head at the door, he would fancy, from your posture, that you were seeking the Lord; and you are only seeking a cork screw.*

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AMIDST all the unguarded play and buffoonery of this singular personage, he took the opportunity of remarking the characters, designs, and weakneses of men; and he would sometimes push them, by an indulgence in wine, to open to him the most secret recesses of their bosom. Great regularity, however, and even, austerity of manners were always maintained in his court; and he was careful never by any liberties to give offence to the most rigid of the godly. Some state was upheld; but with little expense, and without any splendor. The nobility, though courted by him, kept at a distance, and disdained to intermix with those mean persons, who were the instruments of his government. Without departing from œconomy, he was generous to those who served him; and he knew how to find out and engage in his interests every man possessed of those talents, which any particular employment demanded. His generals, his admirals, his judges, his ambassadors, were persons, who contributed, all of them, in their several spheres, to the security of the protector, and to the honor and interest of the nation.

UNDER pretence of uniting Scotland and Ireland in one commonwealth with England, Cromwel had reduced those kingdoms to a total subjection; and he treated them entirely as conquered pro-

CHAP. LXI. 1654. vinces. The civil administration of Scotland was placed in a council, consisting mostly of English, of which lord Broghil was president. Justice was administered by seven judges, four of whom were English. In order to curb the tyrannical nobility, he both abolished all vassalage⁴⁰ and revived the office of justice of peace, which king James had introduced, but was not able to support⁴¹. A long line of forts and garrisons was maintained throughout the kingdom. An army of 10,000 men⁴² kept every thing in peace and obedience; and neither the banditti of the mountains nor the bigots of the low countries could indulge their inclination to turbulence and disorder. He courted the presbyterian clergy; though he nourished that intestine enmity which prevailed between the resolutioners and protesters; and he found, that very little policy was requisite to foment quarrels among theologians. He permitted no church assemblies; being sensible that from thence had proceeded many of the past disorders. And in the main, the Scots were obliged to acknowledge, that never before, while they enjoyed their irregular, factious liberty, had they attained so much happiness as at present, when reduced to subjection under a foreign nation.

THE protector's administration of Ireland was more severe and violent. The government of that island was first intrusted to Fleetwood, a notorious

⁴⁰ Whitlocke, p. 570. ⁴¹ Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 57.

⁴² Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 557.

fanatic, who had married Ireton's widow; then to Henry Cromwel, second son of the protector, a young man of an amiable, mild disposition, and not destitute of vigor and capacity. Above five millions of acres, forfeited either by the popish rebels or by the adherents of the king, were divided, partly among the adventurers, who had advanced money to the parliament, partly among the English soldiers, who had arrears due to them. Examples of a more sudden and violent change of property are scarcely to be found in any history. An order was even issued to confine all the native Irish to the province of Connaught, where they would be shut up by rivers, lakes, and mountains, and could not, it was hoped, be any longer dangerous to the English government: But this barbarous and absurd policy, which, from an impatience of attaining immediate security, must have depopulated all the other provinces, and rendered the English estates of no value, was soon abandoned as impracticable.

CROMWEL began to hope, that, by his administration, attended with so much lustre and success abroad, so much order and tranquillity at home, he had now acquired such authority as would enable him to meet the representatives of the nation, and would assure him of their dutiful compliance with his government. He summoned a parliament; but not trusting altogether to the good will of the people, he used every art, which his new model of representation allowed him to employ, in order to influence the elections

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New parliament

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tember.

and fill the house with his own creatures. Ireland, being entirely in the hands of the army, chose few but such officers as were most acceptable to him. Scotland showed a like compliance; and as the nobility and gentry of that kingdom regarded their attendance on English parliaments as an ignominious badge of slavery, it was, on that account, more easy for the officers to prevail in the elections. Notwithstanding all these precautions, the protector still found, that the majority would not be favorable to him. He set guards, therefore, on the door, who permitted none to enter but such as produced a warrant from his council; and the council rejected about a hundred, who either refused a recognition of the protector's government, or were on other accounts obnoxious to him. These protested against so egregious a violence, subversive of all liberty; but every application for redress was neglected both by the council and the parliament.

THE majority of the parliament, by means of these arts and violences, was now at last either friendly to the protector, or resolved, by their compliance, to adjust, if possible, this military government to their laws and liberties. They voted a renunciation of all title in Charles Stuart or any of his family; and this was the first act, dignified with the appearance of national consent, which had ever had that tendency. Colonel Jephson, in order to sound the inclinations of the house, ventured to move, that the parliament should bestow the crown on Cromwel;

and no surprife or reluctance was discovered on the occafion. When Cromwel afterwards asked Jephfon what induced him to make fuch a motion, “As long,” faid Jephfon, “as I have the honor “to fit in parliament, I muft follow the dictates “of my own confcience, whatever offence I “may be fo unfortunate as to give you.” “Get thee gone,” faid Cromwel, giving him a gentle blow on the fhoulder, “get thee gone, “for a mad fellow as thou art.”

C H A P.

LXI.

1656.

IN order to pave the way to this advancement, for which he fo ardently longed, Cromwel refolved to facrifice his major-generals, whom he knew to be extremely odious to the nation. That meafure was alfo become neceffary for his own fecurity. All government, purely military, fluctuates perpetually between a defpotic monarchy and a defpotic aristocracy, according as the authority of the chief commander prevails, or that of the officers next him in rank and dignity. The major-generals, being poffeffed of fo much diftinct jurifdiction, began to eftablifh a feparate title to power, and had rendered themfelves formidable to the protector himfelf; and for this inconvenience, though he had not forefeen it, he well knew, before it was too late, to provide a proper remedy. Claypole, his fon-in-law, who poffeffed his confidence, abandoned them to the pleafure of the houfe; and though the name was ftill retained, it was agreed to abridge, or rather entirely annihilate, the power of the major-generals.

C H A P.
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1656.

AT length, a motion in form was made by alderman Pack, one of the city-members, for investing the protector with the dignity of king. This motion, at first, excited great disorder, and divided the whole house into parties. The chief opposition came from the usual adherents of the protector, the major-generals and such officers as depended on them. Lambert, a man of deep intrigue and of great interest in the army, had long entertained the ambition of succeeding Cromwel in the protectorship; and he foresaw, that, if the monarchy were restored, hereditary right would also be established, and the crown be transmitted to the posterity of the prince first elected. He pleaded, therefore, conscience; and rousing all those civil and religious jealousies against kingly government, which had been so industriously encouraged among the soldiers, and which served them as a pretence for so many violences, he raised a numerous, and still more formidable party against the motion.

ON the other hand, the motion was supported by every one, who was more particularly devoted to the protector, and who hoped, by so acceptable a measure, to pay court to the prevailing authority. Many persons also, attached to their country, despaired of ever being able to subvert the present illegal establishment, and were desirous, by fixing it on ancient foundations, to induce the protector, from views of his own safety, to pay a regard to the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. Even the royalists

imprudently joined in the measure; and hoped, that, when the question regarded only persons, not forms of government, no one would any longer balance between the ancient royal family, and an ignoble usurper, who, by blood, treason, and perfidy, had made his way to the throne. The bill was voted by a considerable majority; and a committee was appointed to reason with the protector, and to overcome those scruples, which he pretended against accepting so liberal an offer.

C H A P.
LXI.

1657.
Crown offered to
Cromwell.

9th April

THE conference lasted for several days. The committee urged, that all the statutes and customs of England were founded on the supposition of regal authority, and could not, without extreme violence, be adjusted to any other form of government: That a protector, except during the minority of a king, was a name utterly unknown to the laws; and no man was acquainted with the extent or limits of his authority: That if it were attempted to define every part of his jurisdiction, many years, if not ages, would be required for the execution of so complicated a work; if the whole power of the king were at once transferred to him, the question was plainly about a name, and the preference was undisputably due to the ancient title: That the English constitution was more anxious concerning the form of government than concerning the birth-right of the first magistrate, and had provided, by an express law of Henry VII. for the security of those who act in defence of the king in being,

C H A P.
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1657.

by whatever means he might have acquired possession: That it was extremely the interest of all his Highness's friends to seek the shelter of this statute; and even the people in general were desirous of such a settlement, and in all juries were with great difficulty induced to give their verdict in favor of a protector: That the great source of all the late commotions had been the jealousy of liberty; and that a republic, together with a protector, had been established in order to provide farther securities for the freedom of the constitution; but that by experience the remedy had been found insufficient, even dangerous and pernicious; since every undeterminate power, such as that of a protector, must be arbitrary; and the more arbitrary, as it was contrary to the genius and inclination of the people.

THE difficulty consisted not in persuading Cromwel. He was sufficiently convinced of the solidity of these reasons; and his inclination, as well as judgment, was entirely on the side of the committee. But how to bring over the soldiers to the same way of thinking was the question. The office of king had been painted to them in such horrible colors, that there were no hopes of reconciling them suddenly to it, even though bestowed upon their general, to whom they were so much devoted. A contradiction, open and direct, to all past professions would make them pass, in the eyes of the whole nation, for the most shameless hypocrites, insisted, by no other than mercenary motives, in the cause of the

most perfidious traitor. Principles such as they were, had been encouraged in them by every consideration, human and divine; and though it was easy where interest concurred, to deceive them by the thinnest disguises, it might be found dangerous at once to pull off the mask, and to show them in a full light the whole crime and deformity of their conduct. Suspended between these fears and his own most ardent desires, Cromwel protracted the time, and seemed still to oppose the reasonings of the committee; in hopes, that by artifice he might be able to reconcile the refractory minds of the soldiers to his new dignity.

WHILE the protector argued so much in contradiction both to his judgment and inclination, it is no wonder, that his elocution, always confused, embarrassed, and unintelligible, should be involved in tenfold darkness, and discover no glimmering of common sense or reason. An exact account of this conference remains, and may be regarded as a great curiosity. The members of the committee, in their reasonings, discover judgment, knowledge, elocution: Lord Broghill in particular exerts himself on this memorable occasion. But what a contrast, when we pass to the protector's replies! After so singular a manner does nature distribute her talents, that, in a nation abounding with sense and learning, a man, who, by superior personal merit alone, had made his way to supreme dignity, and had even obliged the parliament to make him a tender of the crown, was yet incapable of expressing him-

C H A P. self on this occasion, but in a manner which a
 IXL. peasant of the most ordinary capacity would
 1657. justly be ashamed of⁴³.

⁴³ We shall produce any passage at random : For his discourse is all of a piece. “ I confess, for it behoves
 “ me to deal plainly with you, I must confess, I would say,
 “ I hope, I may be understood in this, for indeed I must
 “ be tender what I say to such an audience as this ; I say, I
 “ would be understood, that in this argument I do not make
 “ parallel betwixt men of a different mind and a parliament,
 “ which shall have their desires. I know there is no
 “ comparifon, nor can it be urged upon me, that my words
 “ have the least color that way, because the parliament
 “ seems to give liberty to me to say any thing to you;
 “ as that, that is a tender of my humble reasons and
 “ judgment and opinion to them ; and if I think they are
 “ such and will be such to them, and are faithful servants,
 “ and will be so to the supreme authority, and the legislative
 “ wheresoever it is : If, I say, I should not tell you,
 “ knowing their minds to be so, I should not be faithful,
 “ if I should not tell you so, to the end you may report
 “ it to the parliament : I shall say something for myself,
 “ for my own mind, I do profess it, I am not a man
 “ scrupulous about words or names of such things I have
 “ not : But as I have the word of God, and I hope I shall
 “ ever have it, for the rule of my conscience, for my
 “ informations ; so truly men that have been led in dark paths,
 “ through the providence and dispensation of God ; why
 “ surely it is not to be objected to a man ; for who can
 “ love to walk in the dark ? But providence does so dispose.
 “ And though a man may impute his own folly and blindness
 “ to providence sinfully, yet it must be at my peril ; the
 “ case may be that it is the providence of God, that doth
 “ lead men in darkness : I must need say, that I have had
 “ a great deal of experience of providence, and though it
 “ is no rule without or against the word, yet it is a very

THE opposition, which Cromwel dreaded, was not that which came from Lambert and his adherents, whom he now regarded as capital enemies, and whom he was resolved, on the first occasion, to deprive of all power and authority : It was that which he met with in his own family, and from men, who, by interest as well as inclination, were the most devoted to him. Fleetwood had married his daughter : Desborow his sister : Yet these men, actuated by principle alone, could, by no persuasion, artifice, or entreaty be induced to consent, that their friend and patron should be invested with regal dignity. They told him, that, if he accepted of the crown, they would instantly throw up their commissions, and never afterwards should have it in their power to serve him ⁴⁴. Colonel Pride procured a petition against the office of king, signed by a majority of the officers, who were in London and the neighbourhood. Several persons, it is said, had entered into an engagement to murder the protector within a few hours after he should have accepted the offer of the parliament. Some sudden mutiny in the army was

“ good expositor of the word in many cases.” *Conference at Whitehall*. The great defect in Oliver’s speeches consists not in his want of elocution, but in his want of ideas. The sagacity of his actions, and the absurdity of his discourse, form the most prodigious contrast that ever was known. The collection of all his speeches, letters, sermons (for he also wrote sermons) would make a great curiosity, and with a few exceptions might justly pass for one of the most nonsensical books in the world. ⁴⁴ Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 261.

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1657.

He rejects
it.

justly dreaded. And upon the whole, Cromwel, after the agony and perplexity of long doubt, was at last obliged to refuse that crown, which the representatives of the nation, in the most solemn manner, had tendered to him. Most historians are inclined to blame his choice; but he must be allowed the best judge of his own situation. And in such complicated subjects, the alteration of a very minute circumstance, unknown to the spectator, will often be sufficient to cast the balance, and render a determination, which, in itself, may be uneligible, very prudent, or even absolutely necessary to the actor.

A DREAM or prophecy, lord Clarendon mentions, which he affirms (and he must have known the truth), was universally talked of almost from the beginning of the civil wars, and long before Cromwel was so considerable a person as to bestow upon it any degree of probability. In this prophecy it was foretold, that Cromwel should be the greatest man in England, and would nearly, but never would fully, mount the throne. Such a prepossession probably arose from the heated imagination either of himself or of his followers; and as it might be one cause of the great progress, which he had already made, it is not an unlikely reason, which may be assigned, for his refusing at this time any farther elevation.

THE parliament, when the regal dignity was rejected by Cromwel, found themselves obliged to retain the name of a commonwealth and protector; and as the government was hitherto a

manifest usurpation, it was thought proper to sanctify it by a seeming choice of the people and their representatives. Instead of the *instrument of government*, which was the work of the general officers alone, a *humble petition and advice* was framed, and offered to the protector by the parliament. This was represented as the great basis of the republican establishment, regulating and limiting the powers of each member of the constitution, and securing the liberty of the people to the most remote posterity. By this deed, the authority of protector was in some particulars enlarged: In others, it was considerably diminished. He had the power of nominating his successor; he had a perpetual revenue assigned him, a million a year for the pay of the fleet and army, three hundred thousand pounds for the support of civil government; and he had authority to name another house, who should enjoy their seats during life, and exercise some functions of the former house of peers. But he abandoned the power assumed in the intervals of parliament, of framing laws with the consent of his council; and he agreed, that no members of either house should be excluded but by the consent of that house, of which they were members. The other articles were in the main the same as in the instrument of government. The instrument of government Cromwel had formerly extolled as the most perfect work of human invention: He now represented it as a rotten plank, upon which no man could trust himself without sinking. Even

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Humble petition and advice.

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the humble petition and advice, which he extolled in its turn, appeared so lame and imperfect, that it was found requisite, this very session, to mend it by a supplement; and after all, it may be regarded as a crude and undigested model of government. It was, however, accepted for the voluntary deed of the whole people in the three united nations; and Cromwel, as if his power had just commenced from this popular consent, was a-new inaugurated in Westminster Hall, after the most solemn and most pompous manner.

26th June.

THE parliament having adjourned itself, the protector deprived Lambert of all his commissions; but still allowed him a considerable pension, of 2000 pounds a year, as a bribe for his future peaceable deportment. Lambert's authority in the army, to the surprise of every body, was found immediately to expire with the loss of his commission. Packer and some other officers, whom Cromwel suspected, were also displaced.

RICHARD, eldest son of the protector, was brought to court, introduced into public business, and thenceforth regarded by many as his heir in the protectorship: though Cromwel sometimes employed the gross artifice of flattering others with hopes of the succession. Richard was a person possessed of the most peaceable, inoffensive, unambitious character; and had hitherto lived contentedly in the country on a small estate, which his wife had brought him. All the activity, which he discovered, and which never was great, was however exerted to beneficent pur-

poses : At the time of the king's trial , he had fallen on his knees before his father , and had conjured him , by every tie of duty and humanity , to spare the life of that monarch. Cromwel had two daughters unmarried : One of them he now gave in marriage to the grandson and heir of his great friend , the earl of Warwic , with whom he had , in every fortune , preserved an uninterrupted intimacy and good correspondence. The other , he married to the viscount Fauconberg , of a family , formerly devoted to the royal party. He was ambitious of forming connexions with the nobility ; and it was one chief motive for his desiring the title of king , that he might replace every thing in its natural order , and restore , to the ancient families , the trust and honor , of which he now found himself obliged , for his own safety , to deprive them.

THE parliament was again assembled ; consisting , as in the times of monarchy , of two houses , the commons and the other house. Cromwel , during the interval , had sent writs to his house of peers , which consisted of sixty members. They were composed of five or six ancient peers , of several gentlemen of fortune and distinction , and of some officers who had risen from the meanest stations. None of the ancient peers , however , though summoned by writ , would deign to accept of a seat , which they must share with such companions as were assigned them. The protector endeavoured at first to maintain the appearance of a legal magistrate. He placed no guard at the door

1658.
20th Jan.

C H A P. of either house : But soon found how incom-
 LXI. patible liberty is with military usurpations. By
 1658. bringing so great a number of his friends and
 adherents into the other house, he had lost the
 majority among the national representatives. In
 consequence of a clause in the humble petition and
 advice, the commons assumed a power of re-ad-
 mitting those members, whom the council had
 formerly excluded. Sir Arthur Hazelrig and some
 others, whom Cromwel had created lords, rather
 chose to take their seat with the commons. An
 incontestible majority now declared themselves
 against the protector; and they refused to acknow-
 ledge the jurisdiction of that other house, which
 he had established. Even the validity of the
 humble petition and advice was questioned; as
 being voted by a parliament, which lay under
 force, and which was deprived by military
 violence of a considerable number of its members.
 The protector, dreading combinations between
 the parliament and the malecontents in the army,
 resolved to allow no leisure for forming any
 conspiracy against him; and with expressions of
 great displeasure, he dissolved the parliament.
 4th Feb. When urged by Fleetwood and others of his
 friends not to precipitate himself into this rash
 measure, he swore by the living God, that they
 should not sit a moment longer.

THESE distractions at home were not able to
 take off the protector's attention from foreign
 affairs; and in all his measures he proceeded with
 the same vigor and enterprise, as if secure of the
 duty

duty and attachment of the three kingdoms. His alliance with Sweden he still supported; and he endeavoured to assist that crown in its successful enterprises, for reducing all its neighbours to subjection, and rendering itself absolute master of the Baltic. As soon as Spain declared war against him, he concluded a peace and an alliance with France, and united himself in all his counsels with that potent and ambitious kingdom. Spain, having long courted in vain the friendship of the successful usurper, was reduced at last to apply to the unfortunate prince. Charles formed a league with Philip, removed his small court to Bruges in the Low Countries, and raised four regiments of his own subjects, whom he employed in the Spanish service. The duke of York, who had, with applause, served some campaigns in the French army, and who had merited the particular esteem of marshal Turenne, now joined his brother, and continued to seek military experience under Don John of Austria and the prince of Condé.

THE scheme of foreign politics, adopted by the protector, was highly imprudent, but was suitable to that magnanimity and enterprise, with which he was so signally endowed. He was particularly desirous of conquest and dominion on the continent⁴⁵; and he sent over into Flanders

⁴⁵ He aspired to get possession of Elsinore and the passage of the Sound. See *World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell*. He also endeavoured to get possession of Bremen. Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 478.

C H A P. six thousand men under Reynolds, who joined
 LXI. the French army commanded by Turenne. In the
 1658. former campaign, Mardyke was taken, and put
 into the hands of the English. Early this campaign,
 siege was laid to Dunkirk; and when the Spanish
 army advanced to relieve it, the combined armies
 of France and England marched out of their
 trenches, and fought the battle of the Dunes,
 where the Spaniards were totally defeated⁴⁶.
 The valor of the English was much remarked
 on this occasion. Dunkirk, being soon after
 surrendered, was by agreement delivered to

Dunkirk
 taken.

⁴⁶ It was remarked by the saints of that time, that the battle was fought on a day which was held for a fast in London, so that as Fleetwood said (Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 159,) while we were praying, they were fighting; and the Lord hath given a signal answer. The Lord has not only owned us in our work there, but in our waiting upon him in a way of prayer, which is indeed our old experienced approved way in all streights and difficulties. Cromwel's letter to Blake and Montague, his brave admirals, is remarkable for the same spirit. Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 744. You have, says he, as I verily believe and am persuaded, a plentiful stock of prayers going for you daily, sent up by the soberest and most approved ministers and christians in this nation, and, notwithstanding some discouragements, very much wrestling of faith for you, which are to us, and I trust will be to you, matter of great encouragement. But notwithstanding all this, it will be good for you and us to deliver up ourselves and all our affairs to the disposition of our allwise Father, who not only out of prerogative; but because of his goodness, wisdom and truth, ought to be resigned unto by his creatures, especially those who are children of his begetting through the spirit, &c.

Cromwel. He committed the government of that c H A P.
important place to Lockhart, a Scotchman of LXI.
abilities, who had married his niece, and was 1658.
his ambassador at the court of France.

THIS acquisition was regarded by the protector as the means only of obtaining farther advantages. He was resolved to concert measures with the French court for the final conquest and partition of the Low Countries⁴⁷. Had he lived much longer, and maintained his authority in England, so chimerical or rather so dangerous a project, would certainly have been carried into execution. And this first and principal step towards more extensive conquest, which France, during a whole century, has never yet been able, by an infinite expense of blood and treasure, fully to attain, had at once been accomplished by the enterprising, though unskilful politics of Cromwel.

DURING these transactions, great demonstrations of mutual friendship and regard passed between the French king and the protector. Lord Fauconberg, Cromwel's son-in-law, was dispatched to Louis, then in the camp before Dunkirk; and was received with the regard, usually paid to foreign princes by the French court⁴⁸. Mazarine sent to London his nephew Mancini, along with the duke of Crequi; and expressed his regret, that his urgent affairs should deprive him of the honor, which he had long wished for,

⁴⁷ Thurloe, vol. i. p. 762.

⁴⁸ Ibid. vol. vii. p. 151. 158.

C H A P. of paying, in person, his respects to the greatest
LXI. man in the world ⁴⁹.

1658.

THE protector reaped little satisfaction from the success of his arms abroad: The situation, in which he stood at home, kept him in perpetual uneasiness and inquietude. His administration, so expensive both by military enterprises and secret intelligence, had exhausted his revenue, and involved him in a considerable debt. The royalists, he heard, had renewed their conspiracies, for a general insurrection; and Ormond was secretly come over with a view of concerting measures for the execution of this project. Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and many heads of the presbyterians, had secretly entered into the engagement. Even the army was infected with the general spirit of discontent; and some sudden and dangerous eruption was every moment to be dreaded from it. No hopes remained, after his violent breach with the last parliament, that he should ever be able to establish, with general consent, a legal settlement, or temper the military with any mixture of civil authority. All his arts and policy were exhausted; and having so often, by fraud and false pretences, deceived every party, and almost every individual, he

⁴⁹ In reality the cardinal had not entertained so high an idea of Cromwel. He used to say, that he was a fortunate madman. *Vie de Cromwel par Ragueneau*. See also Carte's Collection, vol. ii. p. 81. Grumble's Life of Monk, p. 93. World's Mistake in O. Cromwel.

could no longer hope, by repeating the same professions, to meet with equal confidence and regard.

HOWEVER zealous the royalists, their conspiracy took not effect: Willis discovered the whole to the protector. Ormond was obliged to fly, and he deemed himself fortunate to have escaped so vigilant an administration. Great numbers were thrown into prison. A high court of justice was a-new erected for the trial of those criminals, whose guilt was most apparent. Notwithstanding the recognition of his authority by the last parliament, the protector could not, as yet, trust to an unbiaſſed jury. Sir Henry Slingsby, and Dr. Huet were condemned and beheaded. Mor-daunt, brother to the earl of Peterborough, narrowly eſcaped. The numbers for his condemnation and his acquittal were equal; and juſt as the ſentence was pronounced in his favor, colonel Pride, who was reſolved to condemn him, came into court. Aſhton, Storey, and Beſtley were hanged in different ſtreets of the city.

THE conspiracy of the Millenarians in the army ſtruck Cromwel with ſtill greater apprehenſions. Harrifon and the other diſcarded officers of that party could not remain at reſt. Stimulated equally by revenge, by ambition, and by conſcience, they ſtill harboured in their breaſt ſome deſperate project; and there wanted not officers in the army, who, from like motives, were diſpoſed to ſecond all their undertakings. The levellers and agitators had been encouraged by Cromwel to interpoſe with their advice in all political deli-

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berations ; and he had even pretended to honor many of them with his intimate friendship, while he conducted his daring enterprizes against the king and the parliament. It was a usual practice with him, in order to familiarize himself the more with the agitators, who were commonly corporals or serjeants, to take them to bed with him, and there, after prayers and exhortations, to discuss together their projects and principles, political as well as religious. Having assumed the dignity of protector, he excluded them from all his councils, and had neither leisure nor inclination to indulge them any farther in their wonted familiarities. Among those who were enraged at this treatment was Sexby ; an active agitator, who now employed against him all that restless industry, which had formerly been exerted in his favor. He even went so far as to enter into a correspondence with Spain ; and Cromwel, who knew the distempers of the army, was justly afraid of some mutiny, to which a day, an hour, an instant, might provide leaders.

OF assassinations likewise he was apprehensive, from the zealous spirit, which actuated the soldiers. Sindercome had undertaken to murder him ; and, by the most unaccountable accidents, had often been prevented from executing his bloody purpose. His design was discovered ; but the protector could never find the bottom of the enterprise, nor detect any of his accomplices. He was tried by a jury ; and notwithstanding the general odium attending that crime, notwithstanding the

clear and full proof of his guilt, so little conviction prevailed of the protector's right to the supreme government, it was with the utmost difficulty⁹⁰ that this conspirator was condemned. When every thing was prepared for his execution, he was found dead; from poison, as is supposed, which he had voluntarily taken.

THE protector might better have supported those fears and apprehensions, which the public distempers occasioned, had he enjoyed any domestic satisfaction, or possessed any cordial friend of his own family, in whose bosom he could safely have unloaded his anxious and corroding cares. But Fleetwood, his son-in-law, actuated by the wildest zeal, began to estrange himself from him; and was enraged to discover, that Cromwel, in all his enterprizes, had entertained views of promoting his own grandeur, more than of encouraging piety and religion, of which he made such fervent professions. His eldest daughter, married to Fleetwood, had adopted republican principles so vehement, that she could not with patience behold power lodged in a single person, even in her indulgent father. His other daughters were no less prejudiced in favor of the royal cause, and regretted the violences and iniquities, into which, they thought, their family had so unhappily been transported. Above all, the sickness of Mrs. Claypole, his peculiar favorite, a lady endued with many humane vir-

⁹⁰ Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 53.

C H A P. LXI. 1658. tues, and amiable accomplishments, depressed his anxious mind, and poisoned all his enjoyments. She had entertained a high regard for Dr. Huet, lately executed; and being refused his pardon, the melancholy of her temper, increased by her distempered body, had prompted her to lament to her father all his sanguinary measures, and urge him to compunction for those heinous crimes, into which his fatal ambition had betrayed him. Her death, which followed soon after, gave new edge to every word, which she had uttered.

ALL composure of mind was now for ever fled from the protector: He felt, that the grandeur, which he had attained with so much guilt and courage, could not ensure him that tranquillity, which it belongs to virtue alone, and moderation fully to ascertain. Overwhelmed with the load of public affairs, dreading perpetually some fatal accident in his distempered government, seeing nothing around him but treacherous friends or enraged enemies, possessing the confidence of no party, resting his title on no principle, civil or religious, he found his power to depend on so delicate a poize of factions and interests, as the smallest event was able, without any preparation, in a moment to overturn. Death too, which, with such signal intrepidity, he had braved in the field, being incessantly threatened by the poniards of fanatical or interested assassins, was ever present to his terrified apprehension, and haunted him in every scene of business or repose.

Each action of his life betrayed the terrors under which he labored. The aspect of strangers was uneasy to him : With a piercing and anxious eye he surveyed every face , to which he was not daily accustomed. He never moved a step without strong guards attending him : He wore armour under his clothes , and farther secured himself by offensive weapons, a sword, falchion, and pistols, which he always carried about him. He returned from no place by the direct road , or by the same way which he went. Every journey he performed with hurry and precipitation. Seldom he slept above three nights together in the same chamber : And he never let it be known beforehand what chamber he intended to chuse, nor intrusted himself in any , which was not provided with back-doors , at which sentinels were carefully placed. Society terrified him , while he reflected on his numerous , unknown , and implacable enemies : Solitude astonished him , by withdrawing that protection , which he found so necessary for his security.

His body also , from the contagion of his anxious mind , began to be affected ; and his health seemed sensibly to decline. He was seized with a slow fever , which changed into a tertian ague. For the space of a week , no dangerous symptoms appeared ; and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length , the fever increased , and he himself began to entertain some thoughts of death , and to cast his eye towards that future existence , whose idea had

C H A P.
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1658.

Sickness of
the protec-
tor.

C H A P. once been intimately present to him ; though
 LXI. since , in the hurry of affairs , and in the shock
 1658. of wars and factions , it had , no doubt , been
 considerably obliterated. He asked Goodwin ,
 one of his preachers , if the doctrine were true ,
 that the elect could never fall or suffer a final re-
 probation. “ Nothing more certain ,” replied the
 preacher. “ Then am I safe ,” said the protector :
 “ For I am sure that once I was in a state of
 “ grace.”

His physicians were sensible of the perilous
 condition , to which his distemper had reduced
 him : But his chaplains , by their prayers ,
 visions , and revelations , so buoyed up his hopes ,
 that he began to believe his life out of all danger.
 A favorable answer , it was pretended , had been
 returned by heaven to the petitions of all the
 godly ; and he relied on their asseverations
 much more than on the opinion of the most ex-
 perience physicians. “ I tell you ,” he cried with
 confidence to the latter , “ I tell you , I shall not
 “ die of this distemper : I am well assured of
 “ my recovery. It is promised by the Lord , not
 “ only to my supplications , but to those of men
 “ who hold a stricter commerce and more intimate
 “ correspondence with him. Ye may have skill
 “ in your profession ; but nature can do more
 “ than all the physicians in the world , and God
 “ is far above nature ⁵¹.” Nay , to such a degree
 of madness did their enthusiastic assurances mount ,

⁵¹ Bates: See also Thurloe , vol. vii. p. 355. 416.

that, upon a fast day, which was observed, on C H A P.
 his account, both at Hampton Court and at LXI.
 Whitehall, they did not so much pray for his 1658.
 health, as give thanks for the undoubted pledges,
 which they had received of his recovery. He
 himself was overheard offering up his addreses to
 heaven; and so far had the illusions of fanaticism
 prevailed over the plainest dictates of natural
 morality, that he assumed more the character of
 a mediator, in interceding for his people, than
 that of a criminal, whose atrocious violation of
 social duty had, from every tribunal, human and
 divine, merited the severest vengeance.

MEANWHILE all the symptoms began to wear
 a more fatal aspect; and the physicians were
 obliged to break silence, and to declare that the
 protector could not survive the next fit, with
 which he was threatened. The council was
 alarmed. A deputation was sent to know his
 will with regard to his successor. His senses were
 gone, and he could not now express his intentions.
 They asked him whether he did not mean, that
 his eldest son, Richard, should succeed him in
 the protectorship. A simple affirmative was, or
 seemed to be extorted from him. Soon after, on
 the 3d of September, that very day, which he
 had always considered as the most fortunate for
 him, he expired. A violent tempest, which im-
 mediately succeeded his death, served as a subject
 of discourse to the vulgar. His partisans, as well
 as his enemies, were fond of remarking this event;
 and each of them endeavoured, by forced

His death,

C H A P. inferences, to interpret it as a confirmation of
LXI. their particular prejudices.

1658.
and charac-
ter.

THE writers, attached to the memory of this wonderful person, make his character, with regard to abilities, bear the air of the most extravagant panegyric: His enemies form such a representation of his moral qualities as resembles the most virulent invective. Both of them, it must be confessed, are supported by such striking circumstances in his conduct and fortune as bestow on their representation a great air of probability. "What can be more extraordinary," it is said⁵², "than that a person, of private birth and education, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body, which have sometimes, nor shining talents of mind, which have often, raised men to the highest dignities, should have the courage to attempt and the abilities to execute so great a design as the subverting one of the most ancient and best established monarchies in the world? That he should have the power and boldness to put his prince and master to an open and infamous death? Should banish that numerous and strongly allied family? Cover all these temerities under a seeming obedience to a parliament, in whose service he pretended to be retained? Trample too upon that parliament in their turn, and scornfully expel them as soon as they gave him ground of dissatisfaction?

⁵² Cowley's Discourses: This passage is altered in some particulars from the original.

“ Erect in their place the dominion of the saints, C H A P.
 “ and give reality to the most visionary idea, LXI.
 “ which the heated imagination of any fanatic 1658.
 “ was ever able to entertain? Suppress again that
 “ monster in its infancy, and openly set up him-
 “ self above all things that ever were called so-
 “ vereign in England? Overcome first all his
 “ enemies by arms, and all his friends afterwards
 “ by artifice? Serve all parties patiently for a
 “ while, and command them victoriously at last?
 “ Overrun each corner of the three nations, and
 “ subdue with equal facility, both the riches of
 “ the south, and the poverty of the north? Be
 “ feared and courted by all foreign princes, and
 “ be adopted a brother to the gods of the earth?
 “ Call together parliaments with a word of his
 “ pen, and scatter them again with the breath
 “ of his mouth? Reduce to subjection a warlike
 “ and discontented nation, by means of a muti-
 “ nous army? Command a mutinous army by
 “ means of seditious and factious officers? Be
 “ humbly and daily petitioned, that he would be
 “ pleased, at the rate of millions a year, to be
 “ hired as master of those who had hired him
 “ before to be their servant? Have the estates
 “ and lives of three nations as much at his dis-
 “ posal as was once the little inheritance of his
 “ father, and be as noble and liberal in the spend-
 “ ing of them? And lastly (for there is no end
 “ of enumerating every particular of his glory)
 “ with one word bequeath all this power and
 “ splendor to his posterity? Die possessed of

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LXI.
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“ peace at home and triumph abroad ? Be buried
“ among kings , and with more than regal so-
“ lemnity ; and leave a name behind him not
“ to be extinguished but with the whole world ;
“ which as it was too little for his praise , so
“ might it have been for his conquests , if the
“ short line of his mortal life could have stretch-
“ ed out the extent of his immortal designs ? ”

My intention is not to disfigure this picture, drawn by so masterly a hand: I shall only endeavour to remove from it somewhat of the marvellous; a circumstance which, on all occasions, gives much ground for doubt and suspicion. It seems to me, that the circumstance of Cromwel's life, in which his abilities are principally discovered, is his rising, from a private station, in opposition to so many rivals, so much advanced before him, to a high command and authority in the army. His great courage, his signal military talents, his eminent dexterity and address, were all requisite for this important acquisition. Yet will not this promotion appear the effect of supernatural abilities, when we consider, that Fairfax himself, a private gentleman, who had not the advantage of a seat in parliament, had, through the same steps, attained even a superior rank, and, if endued with common capacity and penetration, had been able to retain it. To incite such an army to rebellion against the parliament, required no uncommon art or industry: To have kept them in obedience had been the more difficult enterprize. When the breach was

once formed between the military and civil powers, a supreme and absolute authority, from that moment, is devolved on the general; and if he be afterwards pleased to employ artifice or policy, it may be regarded, on most occasions, as great condescension, if not as superfluous caution. That Cromwel was ever able really to blind or over-reach, either the king or the republicans, does not appear: As they possessed no means of resisting the force under his command, they were glad to temporize with him, and, by seeming to be deceived, wait for opportunities of freeing themselves from his dominion. If he seduced the military fanatics, it is to be considered, that their interests and his evidently concurred, that their ignorance and low education exposed them to the grossest imposition, and that he himself was at bottom as frantic an enthusiast as the worst of them, and, in order to obtain their confidence, needed but to display those vulgar and ridiculous habits, which he had early acquired, and on which he set so high a value. An army is so forcible, and at the same time so coarse a weapon, that any hand, which wields it, may, without much dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any ascendant, in human society.

THE domestic administration of Cromwel, though it discovers great abilities, was conducted without any plan either of liberty or arbitrary power: Perhaps, his difficult situation admitted of neither. His foreign enterprises, though full

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C H A P. of intrepidity, were pernicious to national interest, and seem more the result of impetuous fury or narrow prejudices, than of cool foresight and deliberation. An eminent personage, however, he was in many respects, and even a superior genius; but unequal and irregular in his operations. And though not defective in any talent, except that of elocution, the abilities, which in him were most admirable, and which most contributed to his marvellous success, were the magnanimous resolution of his enterprises, and his peculiar dexterity in discovering the characters, and practising on the weaknesses of mankind.

LXI.

1658.

IF we survey the moral character of Cromwell with that indulgence, which is due to the blindness and infirmities of the human species, we shall not be inclined to load his memory with such violent reproaches as those which his enemies usually throw upon it. Amidst the passions and prejudices of that period, that he should prefer the parliamentary to the royal cause, will not appear extraordinary; since, even at present, some men of sense and knowledge are disposed to think, that the question, with regard to the justice of the quarrel, may be regarded as doubtful and uncertain. The murder of the king, the most atrocious of all his actions, was to him covered under a mighty cloud of republican and fanatical illusions; and it is not impossible, but he might believe it, as many others did, the most meritorious action, that he could perform. His subsequent usurpation was the effect of necessity,
as

as well as of ambition; nor is it easy to see, how the various factions could at that time have been restrained, without a mixture of military and arbitrary authority. The private deportment of Cromwel, as a son, a husband, a father, a friend, is exposed to no considerable censure, if it does not rather merit praise. And upon the whole, his character does not appear more extraordinary and unusual by the mixture of so much absurdity with so much penetration, than by his tempering such violent ambition and such enraged fanaticism with so much regard to justice and humanity.

CROMWEL was in the fifty-ninth year of his age when he died. He was of a robust frame of body, and of a manly, though not of an agreeable aspect. He left only two sons, Richard and Henry; and three daughters; one married to general Fleetwood, another to Lord Fauconberg, a third to lord Rich. His father died when he was young. His mother lived till after he was protector; and, contrary to her orders, he buried her with great pomp in Westminster Abbey. She could not be persuaded, that his power or person was ever in safety. At every noise, which she heard, she exclaimed, that her son was murdered; and was never satisfied that he was alive, if she did not receive frequent visits from him. She was a decent woman; and by her frugality and industry had raised and educated a numerous family upon a small fortune. She had even been obliged to set up a brewery at Huntingdon,

C H A P. which she managed to good advantage. Hence
LXI. Cromwel, in the invectives of that age, is often
1658. stigmatized with the name of the brewer. Lud-
 low, by way of insult, mentions the great accef-
 sion, which he would receive to his royal reve-
 nues upon his mother's death, who possessed a
 jointure of sixty pounds a year upon his estate.
 She was of a good family, of the name of Stuart;
 remotely allied, as is by some supposed, to the
 royal family.

CHAP. LXII.

Richard acknowledged protector — A parliament — Cabal of Wallingford House — Richard deposed — Long parliament or Rump restored — Conspiracy of the royalists — Insurrection — Suppressed — Parliament expelled — Committee of safety — Foreign affairs — General Monk — Monk declares for the parliament — Parliament restored — Monk enters London, declares for a free parliament — Secluded members restored — Long parliament dissolved — New parliament — The Restoration — Manners and arts.

ALL the arts of Cromwel's policy had been so often practised, that they began to lose their effect; and his power, instead of being confirmed by time and success, seemed every day to become more uncertain and precarious. His friends the most closely connected with him, and his counsellors the most trusted, were entering into cabals against his authority; and with all his penetration into the characters of men, he could not find any ministers, on whom he could rely. Men of probity and honor, he knew, would not submit to be the instruments of an usurpation, violent and illegal: Those, who were free from the restraint of principle, might betray, from interest, that cause, in which, from no better motives, they

CHAP.
LXII.
1658.

C H A P. had inlisted themselves. Even those, on whom
LXII. he conferred any favor, never deemed the re-
1658. compence an equivalent for the sacrifices, which they made to obtain it: Whoever was refused any demand, justified his anger by the specious colors of conscience and of duty. Such difficulties surrounded the protector, that his dying at so critical a time, is esteemed by many the most fortunate circumstance that ever attended him; and it was thought, that all his courage and dexterity could not much longer have extended his usurped administration.

BUT when that potent hand was removed, which conducted the government, every one expected a sudden dissolution of the unwieldy and ill-jointed fabric. Richard, a young man of no experience, educated in the country, accustomed to a retired life, unacquainted with the officers and unknown to them, recommended by no military exploits, endeared by no familiarities, could not long, it was thought, maintain that authority, which his father had acquired by so many valorous achievements, and such signal successes. And when it was observed, that he possessed only the virtues of private life, which in his situation were so many vices; that indolence, incapacity, irresolution attended his facility and good nature; the various hopes of men were excited by the expectation of some great event or revolution. For some time, however, the public was disappointed in this opinion. The council recognized the succession of Richard: Fleetwood, in whose

Richard acknowledged
 protector.

favor, it was supposed, Cromwel had formerly made a will, renounced all claim or pretension to the protectorship: Henry, Richard's brother, who governed Ireland with popularity, ensured him the obedience of that kingdom: Monk, whose authority was well established in Scotland, being much attached to the family of Cromwel, immediately proclaimed the new protector: The army, every where, the fleet, acknowledged his title: Above ninety addressees, from the counties and most considerable corporations, congratulated him on his accession, in all the terms of dutiful allegiance: Foreign ministers were forward in paying him the usual compliments: And Richard, whose moderate, unambitious character, never would have led him to contend for empire, was tempted to accept of so rich an inheritance, which seemed to be tendered to him, by the consent of all mankind.

C H A P.
LXII.

It was found necessary to call a parliament, in order to furnish supplies, both for the ordinary administration, and for fulfilling those engagements with foreign princes, particularly Sweden, into which the late protector had entered. In hopes of obtaining greater influence in elections, the ancient right was restored to all the small boroughs; and the counties were allowed no more than their usual members. The house of peers or the other house consisted of the same persons, that had been appointed by Oliver.

A parlia-
ment.

1659.

ALL the commons, at first, signed without hesitation an engagement not to alter the present

7th of Ja-
nuary.

C H A P. government. They next proceeded to examine
 LXII. *the humble petition and advice*; and after great op-
 1659. position and many vehement debates, it was, at
 length, with much difficulty, carried by the
 court-party to confirm it. An acknowledgment
 too of the authority of the other house was ex-
 torted from them; though it was resolved not to
 treat this house of peers with any greater respect
 than they should return to the commons. A de-
 claration was also made, that the establishment
 of the other house should nowise prejudice the
 right of such of the ancient peers as had, from
 the beginning of the war, adhered to the parlia-
 ment. But in all these proceedings, the opposi-
 tion among the commons was so considerable,
 and the debates were so much prolonged, that
 all business was retarded, and great alarm given
 to the partisans of the young protector.

BUT there was another quarter from which
 greater dangers were justly apprehended. The
 most considerable officers of the army, and even
 Fleetwood, brother-in-law to the protector, were
 entering into cabals against him. No character
 in human society is more dangerous than that
 of the fanatic; because, if attended with weak
 judgment, he is exposed to the suggestions of
 others; if supported by more discernment, he is
 entirely governed by his own illusions, which
 sanctify his most selfish views and passions. Fleet-
 wood was of the former species; and as he was
 extremely addicted to a republic, and even to
 the fifth monarchy or dominion of the saints, it

was easy for those, who had insinuated themselves into his confidence, to instil disgusts against the dignity of protector. The whole republican party in the army, which was still considerable, Fitz, Mason, Moss, Farley, united themselves to that general. The officers too of the same party, whom Cromwel had discarded, Overton, Ludlow, Rich, Okey, Alured, began to appear, and to recover that authority, which had been only for a time suspended. A party likewise, who found themselves eclipsed in Richard's favor, Sydenham, Kelsey, Berry, Haines, joined the cabal of the others. Even Desborow, the protector's uncle, lent his authority to that faction. But above all, the intrigues of Lambert, who was now roused from his retreat, inflamed all those dangerous humors, and threatened the nation with some great convulsion. The discontented officers established their meetings in Fleetwood's apartments; and because he dwelt in Wallingford-house, the party received a denomination from that place.

Cabal of
Walling-
ford-house.

RICHARD, who possessed neither resolution nor penetration, was prevailed on to give an unguarded consent for calling a general council of officers, who might make him proposals, as they pretended, for the good of the army. No sooner were they assembled than they voted a remonstrance. They there lamented, that *the good old cause*, as they termed it, that is, the cause, for which they had engaged against the late king, was entirely neglected; and they proposed as a remedy, that the whole military power should be

C H A P. LXII. 1659. intrusted to some person, in whom they might all confide. The city militia, influenced by two aldermen, Tichburn and Ireton, expressed the same resolution of adhering to *the good old cause*.

THE protector was justly alarmed at those movements among the officers. The persons, in whom he chiefly confided, were, all of them, excepting Broghill, men of civil characters and professions; Fiennes, Thurloe, Whitlocke, Wolseley; who could only assist him with their advice and opinion. He possessed none of those arts, which were proper to gain an enthusiastic army. Murmurs being thrown out against some promotions, which he had made, *Would you have me,* said he, *prefer none but the godly? Here is Dick Ingoldsby,* continued he, *who can neither pray nor preach; yet will I trust him before ye all*¹. This imprudence gave great offence to the pretended saints. The other qualities of the protector were correspondent to these sentiments: He was of a gentle, humane, and generous disposition. Some of his party offering to put an end to those intrigues by the death of Lambert, he declared, that he would not purchase power or dominion by such sanguinary measures.

THE parliament was no less alarmed at the military cabals. They voted, that there should be no meeting or general council of officers, except with the protector's consent, or by his orders. This vote brought affairs immediately to a rup-

¹ Ludlow.

ture. The officers hastened to Richard, and demanded of him the dissolution of the parliament. Desborow, a man of a clownish and brutal nature, threatened him, if he should refuse compliance. The protector wanted the resolution to deny, and possessed little ability to resist. The parliament was dissolved; and by the same act, the protector was, by every one, considered as effectually dethroned. Soon after, he signed his demission in form.

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1659.

HENRY, the deputy of Ireland, was endowed with the same moderate disposition as Richard, but as he possessed more vigor and capacity, it was apprehended, that he might make resistance. His popularity in Ireland was great; and even his personal authority, notwithstanding his youth, was considerable. Had his ambition been very eager, he had, no doubt, been able to create disturbance: But being threatened by Sir Hardress Waller, colonel John Jones, and other officers, he very quietly resigned his command, and retired to England. He had once entertained thoughts, which he had not resolution to execute, of proclaiming the king in Dublin².

22d April.
Richard de-
posed.

THUS fell, suddenly and from an enormous height, but, by a rare fortune, without any hurt or injury, the family of the Cromwels. Richard continued to possess an estate, which was moderate, and burthened too with a large debt, which he had contracted for the interment

² Carte's collection, vol. ii. p. 243.

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1659.

of his father. After the restoration, though he remained unmolested, he thought proper to travel for some years; and at Pezenas in Languedoc he was introduced under a borrowed name to the prince of Conti. That prince, talking of English affairs, broke out into admiration of Cromwel's courage and capacity. "But as for that poor pitiful fellow, Richard," said he, "what has become of him? How could he be such a blockhead as to reap no greater benefit from all his father's crimes and successes?" Richard extended his peaceful and quiet life to an extreme old age, and died not till the latter end of queen Anne's reign. His social virtues, more valuable than the greatest capacity, met with a recompence, more precious than noisy fame and more suitable, contentment and tranquillity.

THE council of officers, now possessed of supreme authority, deliberated what form of government they should establish. Many of them seemed inclined to exercise the power of the sword in the most open manner; but as it was apprehended, that the people would with great difficulty be induced to pay taxes, levied by arbitrary will and pleasure; it was agreed to preserve the shadow of civil administration, and to revive the long parliament, which had been expelled by Cromwel. That assembly could not be dissolved, it was asserted, but by their own consent; and violence had interrupted, but was not able to destroy, their right to government. The officers also expected, that, as these members had suffi-

ciently felt their own weakness, they would be contented to act in subordination to the military commanders, and would thenceforth allow all the authority to remain, where the power was so visibly vested.

THE officers applied to Lenthal, the speaker, and proposed to him, that the parliament should resume their seats. Lenthal was of a low, timid spirit; and being uncertain what issue might attend these measures, was desirous of evading the proposal. He replied, that he could by no means comply with the desire of the officers; being engaged in a business of far greater importance to himself, which he could not omit on any account, because it concerned the salvation of his own soul. The officers pressed him to tell what it might be. He was preparing, he said, to participate of the Lord's supper, which he resolved to take next sabbath. They insisted, that mercy was preferable to sacrifice, and that he could not better prepare himself for that great duty, than by contributing to the public service. All their remonstrances had no effect. However, on the appointed day, the speaker, being informed, that a quorum of the house was likely to meet, thought proper, notwithstanding the salvation of his soul, as Ludlow observes, to join them; and the house immediately proceeded upon business. The secluded members attempted, but in vain, to resume their seats among them.

THE numbers of this parliament were small, little exceeding seventy members: Their author-

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LXII.

1652.

Long parlia-
ment or
rump re-
stored.

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LXII.
1659.

ity in the nation, ever since they had been purged by the army, was extremely diminished; and after their expulsion, had been totally annihilated: But being all of them men of violent ambition; some of them men of experience and capacity; they were resolved, since they enjoyed the title of the supreme authority, and observed, that some appearance of a parliament was requisite for the purposes of the army, not to act a subordinate part to those who acknowledged themselves their servants. They chose a council, in which they took care that the officers of Wallingford-house should not be the majority: They appointed Fleetwood lieutenant-general, but inserted in his commission, that it should only continue during the pleasure of the house: They chose seven persons, who should nominate to such commands as became vacant: And they voted, that all commissions should be received from the speaker, and be assigned by him in the name of the house. These precautions, the tendency of which was visible, gave great disgust to the general officers; and their discontent would immediately have broken out into some resolution, fatal to the parliament, had it not been checked by the apprehensions of danger from the common enemy.

THE bulk of the nation consisted of royalists and presbyterians; and to both these parties the dominion of the pretended parliament had ever been to the last degree odious. When that assembly was expelled by Cromwel, contempt had

succeeded to hatred; and no reserve had been used in expressing the utmost derision against the impotent ambition of these usurpers. Seeing them reinstated in authority, all orders of men felt the highest indignation; together with apprehensions, lest such tyrannical rulers should exert their power by taking vengeance upon their enemies, who had so openly insulted them. A secret reconciliation, therefore, was made between the rival parties; and it was agreed, that, burying former enmities in oblivion, all efforts should be used for the overthrow of the rump; so they called the parliament, in allusion to that part of the animal body. The presbyterians, sensible from experience, that their passion for liberty, however laudable, had carried them into unwarrantable excesses, were willing to lay aside ancient jealousies, and, at all hazards, to restore the royal family. The nobility, the gentry bent their passionate endeavours to the same enterprise, by which alone they could be redeemed from slavery. And no man was so remote from party, so indifferent to public good, as not to feel the most ardent wishes, for the dissolution of that tyranny, which, whether the civil or the military part of it were considered, appeared equally oppressive and ruinous to the nation.

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MORDAUNT, who had so narrowly escaped on his trial, before the high-court of justice, seemed rather animated than daunted with past danger; and having, by his resolute behaviour, obtained the highest confidence of the royal party, he was

Conspiracy
of the roy-
alists.

C H A P. now become the centre of all their conspiracies.
 LXII. In many counties, a resolution was taken to rise
 1659. in arms. Lord Willoughby of Parham and Sir
 Horatio Townshend undertook to secure Lynne:
 General Massey engaged to seize Gloucester:
 Lord Newport, Littleton, and other gentlemen
 conspired to take possession of Shrewsbury; Sir
 George Booth of Chester; Sir Thomas Middleton
 of North-Wales; Arundel, Pollar, Granville,
 Trelawney, of Plymouth and Exeter. A day
 was appointed for the execution of all these enter-
 prises. And the king, attended by the duke of
 York, had secretly arrived at Calais, with a
 resolution of putting himself at the head of his
 loyal subjects. The French court had promised
 to supply him with a small body of forces, in
 order to countenance the insurrections of the
 English.

THIS combination was disconcerted by the
 infidelity of Sir Richard Willis. That traitor
 continued with the parliament the same corres-
 pondence, which he had begun with Cromwel.
 He had engaged to reveal all conspiracies, so far
 as to destroy their effect; but reserved to himself,
 if he pleased, the power of concealing the con-
 spirators. He took care never to name any of
 the old, genuine cavaliers, who had zealously
 adhered, and were resolved still to adhere, to
 the royal cause in every fortune. These men he
 esteemed; these he even loved. He betrayed
 only the new converts among the presbyterians,
 or such lukewarm royalists, as, discouraged with

their disappointments, were resolved to expose themselves to no more hazards. A lively proof, how impossible it is, even for the most corrupted minds, to divest themselves of all regard to morality and social duty!

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1659.

MANY of the conspirators in the different counties were thrown into prison: Others, astonished at such symptoms of secret treachery, left their houses or remained quiet: The most tempestuous weather prevailed during the whole time appointed for the rendez-voues; insomuch that some found it impossible to join their friends, and others were dismayed with fear and superstition at an incident so unusual during the summer season. Of all the projects, the only one which took effect, was that of Sir George Booth for the seizing of Chester. The earl of Derby, lord Herbert of Cherbury, Mr. Lee, colonel Morgan entered into this enterprize. Sir William Middleton joined Booth with some troops from North Wales; and the malecontents were powerful enough to subdue all in that neighbourhood, who ventured to oppose them. In their declaration they made no mention of the king: They only demanded a free and full parliament.

July.

THE parliament was justly alarmed. How combustible the materials they well knew; and the fire was now fallen among them. Booth was of a family eminently presbyterian; and his conjunction with the royalists they regarded as a dangerous symptom. They had many officers, whose fidelity they could more depend on than

C H A P. that of Lambert: But there was no one in whose
 LXII. vigilance and capacity they reposed such con-
 1659. fidence. They commissioned him to suppress the
 rebels. He made incredible haste. Booth impru-
 dently ventured himself out of the walls of Chester,
 and exposed, in the open field, his raw troops
 Suppressed. against these hardy veterans. He was soon routed
 and taken prisoner. His whole army was dispersed.
 And the parliament had no farther occupation
 than to fill all the jails with their open or secret
 enemies. Designs were even entertained of trans-
 porting the loyal families to Barbadoes, Jamaica,
 and the other colonies; lest they should propagate
 in England children of the same malignant affec-
 tions with themselves.

THIS success hastened the ruin of the parlia-
 ment; Lambert, at the head of a body of troops,
 was no less dangerous to them than Booth. A
 thousand pounds, which they sent him to buy a
 jewel, were employed by him in liberalities to
 his officers. At his instigation they drew up a
 petition, and transmitted it to Fleetwood, a weak
 man, and an honest, if sincerity in folly deserve
 that honorable name. The import of this petition
 was, that Fleetwood should be made commander
 in chief, Lambert major-general, Desborow
 lieutenant-general of the horse, Monk major-
 general of the foot. To which a demand was
 added, that no officer should be dismissed from
 his command but by a court-martial.

THE parliament, alarmed at the danger, im-
 mediately cashiered Lambert, Desborow, Berry,
 Clarke,

Clarke, Barrow, Kelsey, Cobbet. Sir Arthur C H A P.
Hazelrig proposed the impeachment of Lambert LXII.
for high treason. Fleetwood's commission was 1659.
vacated, and the command of the army was
vested in seven persons, of whom that general
was one. The parliament voted, that they would
have no more general officers. And they declared
it high treason to levy any money without con-
sent of parliament.

BUT these votes were feeble weapons in op-
position to the swords of the soldiery. Lambert
drew some troops together, in order to decide
the controversy. Okey, who was leading his
regiment to the assistance of the parliament, was
deserted by them. Morley and Moss brought
their regiments into Palace-yard, resolute to op-
pose the violence of Lambert. But that artful
general knew an easy way of disappointing them.
He placed his soldiers in the streets which lead
to Westminster-hall. When the speaker came in
his coach, he ordered the horses to be turned,
and very civilly conducted him home. The other
members were in like manner intercepted. And
the two regiments in Palace-yard, observing that
they were exposed to derision, peaceably retired
to their quarters. A little before this bold enter-
prise, a solemn fast had been kept by the army;
and it is remarked, that this ceremony was the
usual prelude to every signal violence, which they
committed.

13th Octo-
ber.

Parliament
expelled.

THE officers found themselves again invested
with supreme authority, of which they intended

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LXII.

1659.

26th October.

Committee
of safety.

for ever to retain the substance, however they might bestow on others the empty shadow or appearance. They elected a committee of twenty-three persons, of whom seven were officers. These they pretended to invest with sovereign authority; and they called them a *committee of safety*. They spoke every where of summoning a parliament, chosen by the people; but they really took some steps towards assembling a military parliament, composed of officers elected from every regiment in the service³. Throughout the three kingdoms there prevailed nothing but the melancholy fears, to the nobility and gentry, of a bloody massacre and extermination; to the rest of the people, of perpetual servitude, beneath those sanctified robbers, whose union and whose divisions would be equally destructive, and who, under pretence of superior illuminations, would soon extirpate, if possible, all private morality, as they had already done all public law and justice, from the British dominions.

Foreign af-
fairs.

DURING the time that England continued in this distracted condition, the other kingdoms of Europe were hastening towards a composure of those differences, by which they had so long been agitated. The parliament, while it preserved authority, instead of following the imprudent politics of Cromwel, and lending assistance to the conquering Swede, embraced the maxims of the Dutch commonwealth, and resolved, in con-

³ Ludlow.

junction with that state, to mediate by force an accommodation between the northern crowns. Montague was sent with a squadron to the Baltic, and carried with him as ambassador Algernon Sidney, the celebrated republican. Sidney found the Swedish monarch employed in the siege of Copenhagen, the capital of his enemy; and was highly pleased, that, with a Roman arrogance, he could check the progress of royal victories, and display in so signal a manner the superiority of freedom above tyranny. With the highest indignation, the ambitious prince was obliged to submit to the imperious mediation of the two commonwealths. "It is cruel," said he, "that laws should be prescribed me by parricides and pedlars." But his whole army was enclosed in an island, and might be starved by the combined squadrons of England and Holland. He was obliged, therefore, to quit his prey, when he had so nearly gotten possession of it; and having agreed to a pacification with Denmark, he retired into his own country, where he soon after died.

THE wars between France and Spain were also concluded by the treaty of the Pyrenees. These animosities had long been carried on between the rival states, even while governed by a sister and brother, who cordially loved and esteemed each other. But politics, which had so long prevailed over these friendly affections, now at last yielded to their influence; and never was the triumph more full and complete. The Spanish Low Countries, if not every

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LXII.

1659.

C H A P. part of that monarchy, lay almost entirely at the
LXII. mercy of its enemy. Broken armies, disordered
1659. finances, slow and irresolute counsels; by these
 resources alone were the dispersed provinces of
 Spain defended against the vigorous power of
 France. But the queen regent, anxious for the
 fate of her brother, employed her authority
 with the cardinal to stop the progress of the
 French conquests, and put an end to a quarrel,
 which, being commenced by ambition, and
 attended with victory, was at last concluded
 with moderation. The young monarch of France,
 though aspiring and warlike in his character,
 was at this time entirely occupied in the plea-
 sures of love and gallantry, and had passively
 resigned the reins of empire into the hands of
 his politic minister. And he remained an uncon-
 cerned spectator; while an opportunity for
 conquest was parted with, which he never was
 able, during the whole course of his active
 reign, fully to retrieve.

THE ministers of the two crowns, Mazarine
 and don Louis de Haro, met at the foot of
 the Pyrenees, in the isle of Pheasants, a place
 which was supposed to belong to neither king-
 dom. The negociation being brought to an
 issue by frequent conferences between the
 ministers, the monarchs themselves agreed to
 a congress; and these two splendid courts
 appeared in their full lustre amidst those savage
 mountains. Philip brought his daughter, Mary
 Therese, along with him; and giving her in

marriage to his nephew, Louis, endeavoured to cement by this new tie the incompatible interests of the two monarchies. The French king made a solemn renunciation of every succession, which might accrue to him in right of his consort; a vain formality, too weak to restrain the ungoverned ambition of princes.

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1659.

THE affairs of England were in so great disorder, that it was not possible to comprehend that kingdom in the treaty, or adjust measures with a power, which was in such incessant fluctuation. The king, reduced to despair by the failure of all enterprises for his restoration, was resolved to try the weak resource of foreign succours; and he went to the Pyrenees at the time when the two ministers were in the midst of their negotiations. Don Louis received him with that generous civility, peculiar to his nation; and expressed great inclination, had the low condition of Spain allowed him, to give assistance to the distressed monarch. The cautious Mazarine, pleading the alliance of France with the English commonwealth, refused even to see him; and though the king offered to marry the cardinal's niece*, he could, for the present, obtain nothing but empty professions of respect and protestations of services. The condition of that monarch, to all the world, seemed totally desperate. His friends had been baffled in every attempt for his service: The scaffold had often

* K. James's Memoirs.

C H A P. LXII. 1659. streamed with the blood of the more active royalists: The spirits of many were broken with tedious imprisonments: The estates of all were burthened by the fines and confiscations, which had been levied upon them: No-one durst openly avow himself of that party: And so small did their number seem to a superficial view, that, even should the nation recover its liberty, which was deemed nowise probable, it was judged uncertain what form of government it would embrace. But amidst all these gloomy prospects, fortune, by a surprising revolution, was now paving the way for the king to mount, in peace and triumph, the throne of his ancestors. It was by the prudence and loyalty of general Monk, that this happy change was at last accomplished.

General
Monk.

GEORGE MONK, to whom the fate was reserved of re-establishing monarchy, and finishing the bloody dissensions of three kingdoms, was the second son of a family in Devonshire, ancient and honorable, but lately, from too great hospitality and expense, somewhat fallen to decay. He betook himself, in early youth, to the profession of arms; and was engaged in the unfortunate expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhé. After England had concluded peace with all her neighbours, he sought military experience in the Low Countries, the great school of war to all the European nations; and he rose to the command of a company under lord Goring. This company consisted of 200 men, of whom a hundred were volunteers, often men of family and fortune,

sometimes noblemen, who lived upon their own income in a splendid manner. Such a military turn at that time prevailed among the English!

C H A P.

LXII.

1652.

WHEN the sound of war was first heard in this island, Monk returned to England, partly desirous of promotion in his native country, partly disgusted with some ill usage from the States, of which he found reason to complain. Upon the Scottish pacification, he was employed by the earl of Leicester against the Irish rebels; and having obtained a regiment, was soon taken notice of, for his military skill, and for his calm and deliberate valor. Without ostentation, expence, or caresses, merely by his humane and equal temper, he gained the good-will of the soldiery; who, with a mixture of familiarity and affection, usually called him *honest George Monk*; an honorable appellation, which they still continued to him, even during his greatest elevation. He was remarkable for his moderation in party; and while all around him were inflamed into rage against the opposite faction, he fell under suspicion from the candor and tranquillity of his behaviour. When the Irish army was called over into England, surmises of this kind had been so far credited, that he had even been suspended from his command, and ordered to Oxford, that he might answer the charge laid against him. His established character for truth and sincerity here stood him in great stead; and upon his earnest protestations and declarations, he was soon restored to his regiment,

C H A P. which he joined at the siege of Nantwich.
 LXII. The day after his arrival, Fairfax attacked and
 1652. defeated the royalists, commanded by Biron;
 and took colonel Monk prisoner. He was sent
 to the Tower, where he endured, above two
 years, all the rigors of poverty and confinement.
 The king, however, was so mindful as to send
 him, notwithstanding his own difficulties, a
 present of 100 guineas; but it was not till
 after the royalists were totally subdued, that he
 recovered his liberty. Monk, however distressed,
 had always refused the most inviting offers from
 the parliament: But Cromwel, sensible of his
 merit, having solicited him to engage in the
 wars against the Irish, who were considered as
 rebels both by king and parliament; he was not
 unwilling to repair his broken fortunes by
 accepting a command, which he flattered himself,
 was reconcilable to the strictest principles of
 honor. Having once engaged with the parlia-
 ment, he was obliged to obey orders; and
 found himself necessitated to fight, both against
 the marquis of Ormond in Ireland, and against
 the king himself in Scotland. Upon the reduction
 of the latter kingdom, Monk was left with
 the supreme command; and by the equality and
 justice of his administration he was able to
 give contentment to that restless people now
 reduced to subjection by a nation whom they
 hated. No less acceptable was his authority to
 the officers and soldiers; and foreseeing, that the
 good will of the army under his command

might some time be of great service to him, he had, with much care and success, cultivated their friendship.

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1659.

THE connexions, which he had formed with Cromwel, his benefactor, preserved him faithful to Richard, who had been enjoined by his father to follow in every thing the directions of general Monk. When the long parliament was restored, Monk, who was not prepared for opposition, acknowledged their authority and was continued in his command, from which it would not have been safe to attempt dislodging him. After the army had expelled the parliament, he protested against the violence, and resolved, as he pretended, to vindicate their invaded privileges. Deeper designs, either in the king's favor or his own, were, from the beginning, suspected to be the motive of his actions.

Monk declares for the parliament.

A RIVALSHIP had long subsisted between him and Lambert; and every body saw the reason why he opposed the elevation of that ambitious general, by whose success his own authority, he knew, would soon be subverted. But little friendship had ever subsisted between him and the parliamentary leaders, and it seemed nowise probable, that he intended to employ his industry, and spend his blood, for the advancement of one enemy above another. How early he entertained designs for the king's restoration, we know not with certainty: It is likely, that, as soon as Richard was deposed, he foresaw, that, without such an expedient, it would be impossible

C H A P. ever to bring the nation to a regular settlement.
LXII. His elder and younger brothers were devoted
1659. to the royal cause: The Granvilles, his near relations, and all the rest of his kindred, were in the same interests: He himself was intoxicated with no fumes of enthusiasm, and had maintained no connexions with any of the fanatical tribe. His early engagements had been with the king, and he had left that service without receiving any disgust from the royal family. Since he had inlisted himself with the opposite party, he had been guilty of no violence or rigor, which might render him obnoxious. His return, therefore, to loyalty was easy and open; and nothing could be supposed to counterbalance his natural propensity to that measure, except the views of his own elevation, and the prospect of usurping the same grandeur and authority, which had been assumed by Cromwel. But from such exorbitant, if not impossible projects, the natural tranquillity and moderation of his temper, the calmness and solidity of his genius, not to mention his age, now upon the decline, seem to have set him at a distance. Cromwel himself, he always asserted^s, could not long have maintained his usurpation; and any other person, even equal to him in genius, it was obvious, would now find it more difficult to practise arts, of which, every one, from experience, was sufficiently aware. It is more agreeable, therefore, to reason

^s Gumble's life of Monk, p. 93.

as well as candor to suppose, that Monk, as soon as he put himself in motion, had entertained views of effecting the king's restoration; nor ought any objections, derived from his profound silence even to Charles himself, be regarded as considerable. His temper was naturally reserved; his circumstances required dissimulation; the king, he knew, was surrounded with spies and traitors; and upon the whole, it seems hard to interpret that conduct, which ought to exalt our idea of his prudence, as a disparagement of his probity.

SIR John Granville, hoping that the general would engage in the king's service, sent into Scotland his younger brother, a clergyman, Dr. Monk, who carried him a letter and invitation from the king. When the doctor arrived, he found, that his brother was then holding a council of officers, and was not to be seen for some hours. In the mean time, he was received and entertained by Price, the general's chaplain, a man of probity, as well as a partisan of the king's. The doctor having an entire confidence in the chaplain, talked very freely to him about the object of his journey, and engaged him, if there should be occasion, to second his applications. At last, the general arrived; the brothers embrace; and after some preliminary conversation, the doctor opens his business. Monk interrupted him to know, whether he had ever before to any body mentioned the subject. "To no body," replied his brother, "but to Price, whom I

C H A P. LXII. 1659. "know to be entirely in your confidence." The general, altering his countenance, turned the discourse: and would enter into no farther confidence with him, but sent him away with the first opportunity. He would not trust his own brother the moment he knew that he had disclosed the secret; though to a man whom he himself could have trusted*.

HIS conduct in all other particulars was full of the same reserve and prudence; and no less was requisite for effecting the difficult work, which he had undertaken. All the officers in his army, of whom he entertained any suspicion, he immediately cashiered: Cobbet, who had been sent by the committee of safety, under pretence of communicating their resolutions to Monk, but really with a view of debauching his army, he committed to custody: He drew together the several scattered regiments: He summoned an assembly, somewhat resembling a convention of states; and having communicated to them his resolution of marching into England, he received a seasonable, though no great supply of money.

HEARING that Lambert was advancing northward with his army, Monk sent Cloberry and two other commissioners to London, with large professions of his inclination to peace, and with offers of terms for an accommodation. His chief aim was to gain time, and relax the preparations

* Lord Lansdown's defence of general Monk.

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of his enemies. The committee of safety fell into the snare. A treaty was signed by Monk's commissioners, but he refused to ratify it, and complained that they had exceeded their powers. He desired, however, to enter into a new negotiation at Newcastle. The committee willingly accepted this fallacious offer.

November.

MEANWHILE these military sovereigns found themselves surrounded on all hands with inextricable difficulties. The nation had fallen into total anarchy; and by refusing the payment of all taxes, reduced the army to the greatest necessities. While Lambert's forces were assembling at Newcastle, Hazelrig and Morley took possession of Portsmouth, and declared for the parliament. A party, sent to suppress them, was persuaded by their commander to join in the same declaration. The city apprentices rose in a tumult, and demanded a free parliament. Though they were suppressed by colonel Hewson, a man, who from the profession of a cobbler had risen to a high rank in the army, the city still discovered symptoms of the most dangerous discontent. It even established a kind of separate government, and assumed the supreme authority within itself. Admiral Lawson with his squadron came into the river, and declared for the parliament. Hazelrig and Morley, hearing of this important event, left Portsmouth, and advanced towards London. The regiments near that city, being solicited by their old officers, who had been cashiered by the committee of safety, revolted again to the

C H A P. parliament. Desborow's regiment, being sent by
 LXII. Lambert to support his friends, no sooner arrived
 at St. Albans, than it declared for the same as-
 sembly.

FLEETWOOD's hand was found too weak and
 unstable to support this ill-founded fabric,
 which, every where around him, was falling
 into ruins. When he received intelligence of any
 murmurs among the soldiers, he would prostrate
 himself in prayer, and could hardly be prevailed
 with to join the troops. Even when among them,
 he would, in the midst of any discourse, invite
 them all to prayer, and put himself on his knees
 before them. If any of his friends exhorted him
 to more vigor, they could get no other answer,
 than that God had spitten in his face, and would
 not hear him. Men now ceased to wonder, why
 Lambert had promoted him to the office of general,
 and had contented himself with the second com-
 mand in the army.

26th of De-
 cember.

Parliament
 restored.

LENTHAL, the speaker, being invited by the
 officers, again assumed authority, and summoned
 together the parliament, which twice before had
 been expelled with so much reproach and igno-
 miny. As soon as assembled, they repealed their
 act against the payment of excise and customs;
 they appointed commissioners for assigning quart-
 ers to the army; and, without taking any notice
 of Lambert, they sent orders to the forces under
 his command immediately to repair to those
 quarters, which were appointed them.

1660.
 1st January.

LAMBERT was now in a very disconsolate

condition. Monk, he saw, had passed the Tweed at Coldstream, and was advancing upon him. His own foldiers deserted him in great multitudes, and joined the enemy. Lord Fairfax too, he heard, had raised forces behind him, and had possessed himself of York, without declaring his purpose. The last orders of the parliament so entirely stripped him of his army, that there remained not with him above a hundred horse: All the rest went to their quarters with quietness and resignation; and he himself was, some time after, arrested and committed to the Tower. The other officers, who had formerly been cashiered by the parliament, and who had resumed their commands, that they might subdue that assembly, were again cashiered and confined to their houses. Sir Harry Vane and some members, who had concurred with the committee of safety, were ordered into a like confinement. And the parliament now seemed to be again possessed of more absolute authority than ever, and to be without any danger of opposition or controul.

THE republican party was at this time guided by two men, Hazelrig and Vane, who were of opposite characters, and mortally hated each other. Hazelrig, who possessed greater authority in the parliament, was haughty, imperious, precipitate, vain-glorious; without civility, without prudence; qualified only by his noisy, pertinacious obstinacy to acquire an ascendant in public assemblies. Vane was noted, in all civil transactions, for temper, insinuation, address, and a

C H A P.

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1660.

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1660.

profound judgment; in all religious speculations, for folly and extravagance. He was a perfect enthusiast; and fancying that he was certainly favored with inspiration, he deemed himself, to speak in the language of the times, to be a *man above ordinances*, and, by reason of his perfection, to be unlimited and unrestrained by any rules, which govern inferior mortals. These whims, mingling with pride, had so corrupted his excellent understanding, that sometimes he thought himself the person deputed to reign on earth for a thousand years over the whole congregation of the faithful⁷.

MONK, though informed of the restoration of the parliament, from whom he received no orders, still advanced with his army, which was near 6000 men: The scattered forces in England were above five times more numerous. Fairfax, who had resolved to declare for the king, not being able to make the general open his intentions, retired to his own house in Yorkshire. In all counties through which Monk passed, the prime gentry flocked to him with addresses; expressing their earnest desire, that he would be instrumental in restoring the nation to peace and tranquillity, and to the enjoyment of those liberties, which by law were their birthright, but of which, during so many years, they had been fatally bereaved: And that, in order to this salutary purpose, he would prevail, either for the restoring

⁷ Clarendon.

of those members, who had been secluded before the king's death, or for the election of a new parliament, who might legally and by general consent, again govern the nation. Though Monk pretended not to favor these addressees, that ray of hope, which the knowledge of his character and situation afforded, mightily animated all men. The tyranny and the anarchy, which now equally oppressed the kingdom; the experience of past distractions, the dread of future convulsions, the indignation against military usurpation, against sanctified hypocrisy: All these motives had united every party, except the most desperate, into ardent wishes for the king's restoration, the only remedy for all these fatal evils.

SCOT and Robinson were sent as deputies by the parliament, under pretence of congratulating the general, but in reality to serve as spies upon him. The city dispatched four of their principal citizens to perform like compliments; and at the same time to confirm the general in his inclination to a free parliament, the object of all men's prayers and endeavours. The authority of Monk could scarcely secure the parliamentary deputies from those insults, which the general hatred and contempt towards their masters drew from men of every rank and denomination.

MONK continued his march with few interruptions till he reached St. Albans. He there sent a message to the parliament; desiring them to remove from London those regiments, which, though they now professed to return to their

C H A P.
LXII.
1660.

3d Febru-
ary.
Monk en-
ters London.

6th Febru-
ary.

duty, had so lately offered violence to that assembly. This message was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed the house. Their fate, they found, must still depend on a mercenary army; and they were as distant as ever from their imaginary sovereignty. However they found it necessary to comply. The soldiers made more difficulty. A mutiny arose among them. One regiment, in particular, quartered in Somerset-house, expressly refused to yield their place to the northern army. But those officers, who would gladly, on such an occasion, have inflamed the quarrel, were absent or in confinement; and for want of leaders, the soldiers were at last, with great reluctance, obliged to submit. Monk with his army took quarters in Westminster.

THE general was introduced to the house; and thanks were given him by Lenthall for the eminent services which he had done his country. Monk was a prudent, not an eloquent speaker. He told the house, that the services, which he had been enabled to perform, were no more than his duty, and merited not such praises as those with which they were pleased to honor him: That among many persons of greater worth, who bore *their* commission, he had been employed as the *instru-*ment of providence for effecting their restoration; but he considered this service as a step only to more important services, which it was *their* part to render to the nation: That while on his march, he observed all ranks of men, in all places, to be in earnest expectation of a settle-

ment, after the violent convulsions, to which they had been exposed; and to have no prospect of that blessing but from the dissolution of the present parliament, and from the summoning of a new one, free and full, who, meeting without oaths or engagements, might finally give contentment to the nation: That applications had been made to him for that purpose; but that he, sensible of his duty, had still told the petitioners, that the parliament itself, which was now free and would soon be full, was the best judge of all these measures, and that the whole community ought to acquiesce in their determination: That though he expressed himself in this manner to the people, he must now freely inform the house, that the fewer engagements were exacted, the more comprehensive would their plan prove, and the more satisfaction would it give to the nation: And that it was sufficient for public security, if the fanatical party and the royalists were excluded; since the principles of these factions were destructive either of government or of liberty.

THIS speech, containing matter, which was both agreeable and disagreeable to the house as well as to the nation, still kept every one in suspense, and upheld that uncertainty, in which it seemed the general's interest to retain the public. But it was impossible for the kingdom to remain long in this doubtful situation: The people, as well as the parliament, pushed matters to a decision. During the late convulsions, the payment of taxes had been interrupted: and though

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LXII.
1660.

the parliament, upon their assembling, renewed the ordinances for impositions, yet so little reverence did the people pay to those legislators, that they gave very slow and unwilling obedience to their commands. The common council of London flatly refused to submit to an assessment, required of them; and declared, that, till a free and lawful parliament imposed taxes, they never should deem it their duty to make any payment. This resolution, if yielded to, would immediately have put an end to the dominion of the parliament: They were determined, therefore, upon this occasion to make at once a full experiment of their own power and of their general's obedience.

9th Febru-
ary.

MONK received orders to march into the city; to seize twelve persons, the most obnoxious to the parliament; to remove the posts and chains from all the streets; and to take down and break the portcullises and gates of the city: And very few hours were allowed him to deliberate upon the execution of these violent orders. To the great surprise and consternation of all men, Monk prepared himself for obedience. Neglecting the entreaties of his friends, the remonstrances of his officers, the cries of the people, he entered the city in a military manner; he apprehended as many as he could of the proscribed persons, whom he sent to the Tower; with all the circumstances of contempt he broke the gates and portcullises; and having exposed the city to the scorn and derision of all who hated it, he returned in triumph to his quarters in Westminster.

No sooner had the general leisure to reflect, than he found, that this last measure, instead of being a continuation of that cautious ambiguity, which he had hitherto maintained, was taking party without reserve, and laying himself, as well as the nation, at the mercy of that tyrannical parliament, whose power had long been odious, as their persons contemptible, to all men. He resolved, therefore, before it were too late, to repair the dangerous mistake, into which he had been betrayed, and to show the whole world, still more without reserve, that he meant no longer to be the minister of violence and usurpation. After complaining of the odious service, in which he had been employed; he wrote a letter to the house, reproaching them, as well with the new cabals which they had formed with Vane and Lambert, as with the encouragement given to a fanatical petition presented by Praisegod Barebone; and he required them, in the name of the citizens, soldiers, and whole commonwealth, to issue writs, within a week, for the filling of their house, and to fix the time for their own dissolution and the assembling of a new parliament. Having dispatched this letter, which might be regarded, he thought, as an undoubted pledge of his sincerity, he marched with his army into the city, and desired Allen, the Mayor, to summon a common-council at Guildhall. He there made many apologies for the indignity, which, two days before, he had been obliged to put upon them; assured them of his persever-

C H A P.
LXII.
1660.

11th February.

Declares for
a free par-
liament.

C H A P. LXII. 1660. ance in the measures which he had adopted; and desired that they might mutually plight their faith for a strict union between city and army, in every enterprize for the happiness and settlement of the commonwealth.

It would be difficult to describe the joy and exultation, which displayed itself throughout the city, as soon as intelligence was conveyed of this happy measure, embraced by the general. The prospect of peace, concord, liberty, justice, broke forth at once, from amidst the deepest darkness, in which the nation had ever been involved. The view of past calamities no longer presented dismal prognostics of the future: It tended only to enhance the general exultation for those scenes of happiness and tranquillity, which all men now confidently promised themselves. The royalists, the presbyterians, forgetting all animosities, mingled in common joy and transport, and vowed never more to gratify the ambition of false and factious tyrants, by their calamitous divisions. The populace, more outrageous in their festivity, made the air resound with acclamations, and illuminated every street with signals of jollity and triumph. Applauses of the general were every where intermingled with detestation against the parliament. The most ridiculous inventions were adopted, in order to express this latter passion. At every bonfire rumps were roasted; and where these could no longer be found, pieces of flesh were cut into that shape: And the funeral of the parliament

(the populace exclaimed) was celebrated by these symbols of hatred and derision.

C H A P.

LXII.

1669

THE parliament, though in the agonies of despair, made still one effort for the recovery of their dominion. They sent a committee with offers to gain the general. He refused to hear them, except in the presence of some of the secluded members. Though several persons, desperate from guilt and fanaticism, promised to invest him with the dignity of supreme magistrate, and to support his government, he would not hearken to such wild proposals. Having fixed a close correspondence with the city, and established its militia in hands, whose fidelity could be relied on, he returned with his army to Westminster, and pursued every proper measure for the settlement of the nation. While he still pretended to maintain republican principles, he was taking large steps towards the re-establishment of the ancient monarchy.

21st February.
Secluded
members
restored.

THE secluded members, upon the general's invitation, went to the house, and finding no longer any obstruction, they entered, and immediately appeared to be the majority: Most of the independents left the place. The restored members first repealed all the ordinances, by which they had been excluded: They gave Sir George Boothe and his party their liberty and estates: They renewed the general's commission, and enlarged his powers: They fixed an assessment for the support of the fleet and army: And having passed these votes for the present composure

16th March.
Long parlia-
ment dis-
solved.

C H A P. of the kingdom, they dissolved themselves, and
LXII. issued writs for the immediate assembling of a
1660. new parliament. This last measure had been previously concerted with the general, who knew, that all men, however different in affections, expectations, and designs, united in their detestation of the long parliament.

A COUNCIL OF STATE was established, consisting of men of character and moderation; most of whom, during the civil wars, had made a great figure among the presbyterians. The militia of the kingdom was put into such hands as would promote order and settlement. These, conjoined with Monk's army, which lay united at London, were esteemed a sufficient check on the more numerous, though dispersed army, of whose inclinations there was still much reason to be diffident. Monk, however, was every day removing the more obnoxious officers, and bringing the troops to a state of discipline and obedience.

OVERTON, governor of Hull, had declared his resolution to keep possession of that fortress till the coming of king Jesus: But when Alured produced the authority of parliament for his delivering the place to colonel Fairfax, he thought proper to comply.

MONTAGUE, who commanded the fleet in the Baltic, had entered into the conspiracy with Sir George Boothe; and pretending want of provisions, had sailed from the Sound towards the coast of England, with an intention of supporting

that infurrection of the royalists. On his arrival he received the news of Boothe's defeat, and the total failure of the enterprize. The great difficulties, to which the parliament was then reduced, allowed them no leisure to examine strictly the reasons, which he gave for quitting his station; and they allowed him to retire peaceably to his country-house. The council of state now conferred on him, in conjunction with Monk, the command of the fleet; and secured the naval, as well as military force, in hands favorable to the public settlement.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these steps, which were taken towards the re-establishment of monarchy, Monk still maintained the appearance of zeal for a commonwealth, and hitherto allowed no canal of correspondence between himself and the king to be opened. To call a free parliament, and to restore the royal family, were visibly, in the present disposition of the kingdom, one and the same measure: Yet would not the general declare, otherwise than by his actions, that he had adopted the king's interests; and nothing but necessity extorted at last the confession from him. His silence, in the commencement of his enterprize, ought to be no objection to his sincerity; since he maintained the same reserve, at a time, when, consistent with common sense, he could have entertained no other purpose^{*}.

THERE was one Morrice, a gentleman of

^{*} See note [K] at the end of the volume.

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Devonshire, of a sedentary, studious disposition, nearly related to Monk, and one who had always maintained the strictest intimacy with him. With this friend alone did Monk deliberate concerning that great enterprize, which he had projected. Sir John Granville, who had a commission from the king, applied to Morrice for access to the general; but received for answer, that the general desired him to communicate his business to Morrice. Granville, though importunately urged, twice refused to deliver his message to any but Monk himself; and this cautious politician, finding him now a person, whose secrecy could be safely trusted, admitted him to his presence, and opened to him his whole intentions. Still he scrupled to commit any thing to writing⁹: He delivered only a verbal message by Granville, assuring the king of his services, giving advice for his conduct, and exhorting him instantly to leave the Spanish territories, and retire into Holland. He was apprehensive lest Spain might detain him as a pledge for the recovery of Dunkirk and Jamaica. Charles followed these directions, and very narrowly escaped to Breda. Had he protracted his journey a few hours, he had certainly, under pretence of honor and respect, been arrested by the Spaniards.

LOCKHART, who was governor of Dunkirk, and nowise averse to the king's service, was applied to on this occasion. The state of England

⁹ Lansdowne, Clarendon.

was set before him, the certainty of the restoration represented, and the prospect of great favor displayed, if he would anticipate the vows of the kingdom, and receive the king into his fortrefs. Lockhart still replied, that his commission was derived from an English parliament, and he would not open his gates but in obedience to the same authority¹⁰. This scruple, though in the present emergency it approaches towards superstition, it is difficult for us entirely to condemn.

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THE elections for the new parliament went every where in favor of the king's party. This was one of those popular torrents, where the most indifferent, or even the most averse, are transported with the general passion, and zealously adopt the sentiments of the community, to which they belong. The enthusiasts themselves seemed to be disarmed of their fury; and between despair and astonishment gave way to those measures, which, they found, it would be impossible for them, by their utmost efforts, to withstand. The presbyterians, the royalists, being united, formed the voice of the nation, which, without noise, but with infinite ardor, called for the king's restoration. The kingdom was almost entirely in the hands of the former party; and some zealous leaders among them began to renew the demand of those conditions, which had been required of the late king in the treaty of Newport: But the general opinion seemed to

¹⁰ Burnet.

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condemn all those rigorous and jealous capitulations with their sovereign. Harassed with convulsions and disorders, men ardently longed for repose, and were terrified at the mention of negotiations or delays, which might afford opportunity to the seditious army still to breed new confusion. The passion too for liberty, having been carried to such violent extremes, and having produced such bloody commotions, began, by a natural movement, to give place to a spirit of loyalty and obedience; and the public was less zealous in a cause, which was become odious, on account of the calamities, which had so long attended it. After the legal concessions made by the late king, the constitution seemed to be sufficiently secured; and the additional conditions insisted on, as they had been framed during the greatest ardor of the contest, amounted rather to annihilation than a limitation of monarchy. Above all, the general was averse to the mention of conditions; and resolved, that the crown, which he intended to restore, should be conferred on the king entirely free and unincumbered. Without farther scruple, therefore, or jealousy, the people gave their voice in elections for such as they knew to entertain sentiments favorable to monarchy; and all paid court to a party, which, they foresaw, was soon to govern the nation. Though the parliament had voted, that no one should be elected, who had himself, or whose father had borne arms for the late king; little regard was any where paid to this ordi-

nance. The leaders of the presbyterians, the earl of Manchester, lord Fairfax, lord Robarts, Hollis, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Annesley, Lewis, were determined to atone for past transgressions by their present zeal for the royal interests; and from former merits, successes, and sufferings, they had acquired with their party the highest credit and authority.

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THE affairs of Ireland were in a condition no less favorable to the king. As soon as Monk declared against the English army, he dispatched emissaries into Ireland, and engaged the officers in that kingdom to concur with him in the same measures. Lord Broghill, president of Munster, and Sir Charles Coote, president of Connaught, went so far as to enter into a correspondence with the king, and to promise their assistance for his restoration. In conjunction with Sir Theophilus Jones, and other officers, they took possession of the government, and excluded Ludlow, who was zealous for the rump-parliament, but whom they pretended to be in a confederacy with the Committee of Safety. They kept themselves in readiness to serve the king; but made no declarations, till they should see the turn, which affairs took in England.

BUT all these promising views had almost been blasted by an untoward accident. Upon the admission of the secluded members, the republican party, particularly the late king's judges, were seized with the justest despair, and endeavoured to infuse the same sentiments into the army. By

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themselves or their emissaries, they represented to the soldiers, that all those brave actions, which had been performed during the war, and which were so meritorious in the eyes of the parliament, would no doubt be regarded as the deepest crimes by the royalists, and would expose the army to the severest vengeance. That in vain did that party make professions of moderation and lenity: The king's death, the execution of so many of the nobility and gentry, the sequestration and imprisonment of the rest, were in their eyes crimes so deep, and offences so personal, as must be prosecuted with the most implacable resentment. That the loss of all arrears, and the cashiering of every officer and soldier, were the lightest punishment, which must be expected: After the dispersion of the army, no farther protection remained to them, either for life or property, but the clemency of enraged victors. And that, even if the most perfect security could be obtained, it were inglorious to be reduced, by treachery and deceit, to subjection under a foe, who, in the open field, had so often yielded to their superior valor.

AFTER these suggestions had been infused into the army, Lambert suddenly made his escape from the Tower, and threw Monk and the council of state into great consternation. They knew Lambert's vigor and activity; they were acquainted with his popularity in the army; they were sensible, that, though the soldiers had lately deserted him, they sufficiently expressed their

remorse and their detestation of those, who, by false professions, they found, had so egregiously deceived them. It seemed necessary, therefore, to employ the greatest celerity in suppressing so dangerous a foe: Colonel Ingoldsby, who had been one of the late king's judges, but who was now entirely engaged in the royal cause, was dispatched after him. He overtook him at Daventry, while he had yet assembled but four troops of horse. One of them deserted him. Another quickly followed the example. He himself, endeavouring to make his escape, was seized by Ingoldsby, to whom he made submissions not suitable to his former character of spirit and valor. Okey, Axtel, Cobbet, Crede, and other officers of that party were taken prisoners with him. All the roads were full of soldiers hastening to join them. In a few days, they had been formidable. And it was thought, that it might prove dangerous for Monk himself to have assembled any considerable body of his republican army for their suppression: So that nothing could be more happy than the sudden extinction of this rising flame.

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22d April.

WHEN the parliament met, they chose Sir Harbottle Grimstone speaker, a man, who, though he had for some time concurred with the late parliament, had long been esteemed affectionate to the king's service. The great dangers, incurred during former usurpations, joined to the extreme caution of the general, kept every one in awe; and none dared for some days, to

25th April.

C H A P. make any mention of the king. The members
 LXII. exerted their spirit chiefly in bitter invectives
 1660. against the memory of Cromwel, and in execrations against the inhuman murder of their late sovereign. At last, the general, having sufficiently founded their inclinations, gave directions to Annesley, president of the council, to inform them, that one Sir John Granville, a servant of the king's, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the commons. The loudest acclamations were excited by this intelligence. Granville was called in: The letter accompanied with a declaration, greedily read: Without one moment's delay, and without a contradictory vote, a committee was appointed to prepare an answer: And in order to spread the same satisfaction throughout the kingdom, it was voted that the letter and declaration should immediately be published.

1st May.

The restoration.

THE people, freed from the state of suspense, in which they had so long been held, now changed their anxious hope for the unmixt effusions of joy; and displayed a social triumph and exultation, which no private prosperity, even the greatest, is ever able fully to inspire. Traditions remain of men, particularly of Oughtred, the mathematician, who died of pleasure, when informed of this happy and surprising event. The king's declaration was well calculated to uphold the satisfaction, inspired by the prospect of public settlement. It offered a general amnesty to all persons whatsoever; and that without any exceptions but

but such as should afterwards be made by parliament: It promised liberty of conscience; and a concurrence in any act of parliament, which, upon mature deliberation, should be offered, for insuring that indulgence: It submitted to the arbitration of the same assembly, the inquiry into all grants, purchases, and alienations: And it assured the soldiers of all their arrears, and promised them, for the future, the same pay, which they then enjoyed.

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THE lords, perceiving the spirit, by which the kingdom as well as the commons was animated, hastened to re-instate themselves in their ancient authority, and to take their share in the settlement of the nation. They found the doors of their house open; and all were admitted, even such as had formerly been excluded on account of their pretended delinquency.

THE two houses attended; while the king was proclaimed with great solemnity, in Palace-Yard, at White-Hall, and at Temple-Bar. The commons voted 500 pounds to buy a jewel for Granville, who had brought them the king's gracious messages: A present of 50,000 pounds was conferred on the king, 10,000 pounds on the duke of York, 5000 pounds on the duke of Gloucester. A committee of lords and commons was dispatched to invite his majesty to return and take possession of the government. The rapidity, with which all these events were conducted, was marvellous, and discovered the passionate zeal and entire unanimity of the nation. Such an impatience

3th May.

C H A P. appeared, and such an emulation, in lords, and
 LXII. commons, and city, who should make the most
 1660. lively expressions of their joy and duty; that, as
 the noble historian expresses it, a man could not
 but wonder where those people dwelt, who had
 done all the mischief, and kept the king so many
 years from enjoying the comfort and support of
 such excellent subjects. The king himself said,
 that it must surely have been his own fault, that
 he had not sooner taken possession of the throne;
 since he found every body so zealous in promot-
 ing his happy restoration.

THE respect of foreign powers soon followed
 the submission of the king's subjects. Spain invited
 him to return to the Low Countries; and
 embark in some of her maritime towns. France
 made protestations of affection and regard, and
 offered Calais for the same purpose. The states-
 general sent deputies with a like friendly invita-
 tion. The king resolved to accept of this last
 offer. The people of the republic bore him a
 cordial affection; and politics no longer restrained
 their magistrates from promoting and expressing
 that sentiment. As he passed from Breda to the
 Hague, he was attended by numerous crowds,
 and was received with the loudest acclamations;
 as if themselves, not their rivals in power and
 commerce, were now restored to peace and
 security. The states-general in a body, and
 afterwards the states of Holland apart, performed
 their compliments with the greatest solemnity:
 Every person of distinction was ambitious of

being introduced to his majesty; all ambassadors and public ministers of kings, princes, or states, repaired to him, and professed the joy of their masters in his behalf: So that one would have thought, that from the united efforts of Christendom, had been derived this revolution, which diffused every where such universal satisfaction.

THE English fleet came in sight of Scheveling. Montague had not waited for orders from the parliament; but had persuaded the officers, of themselves, to tender their duty to his majesty. The duke of York immediately went on board, and took the command of the fleet as high admiral.

WHEN the king disembarked at Dover, he was met by the general, whom he cordially embraced. Never subject, in fact, probably in his intentions, had deserved better of his king and country. In the space of a few months, without effusion of blood, by his cautious and disinterested conduct alone, he had bestowed settlement on three kingdoms, which had long been torn with the most violent convulsions: And having obstinately refused the most inviting conditions, offered him by the king as well as by every party in the kingdom, he freely restored his injured master to the vacant throne. The king entered London on the 29th of May, which was also his birth-day. The fond imaginations of men interpreted as a happy omen the concurrence of two such joyful periods.

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29th May.

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AT this æra, it may be proper to stop a moment, and take a general survey of the age, so far as regards manners, finances, arms, commerce, arts and sciences. The chief use of history is, that it affords materials for disquisitions of this nature; and it seems the duty of an historian to point out the proper inferences and conclusions.

Manners
and arts.

No people could undergo a change more sudden and entire in their manners than did the English nation during this period. From tranquillity, concord, submission, sobriety, they passed in an instant to a state of faction, fanaticism, rebellion, and almost frenzy. The violence of the English parties exceeded any thing, which we can now imagine: Had they continued but a little longer, there was just reason to dread all the horrors of the ancient massacres and proscriptions. The military usurpers, whose authority was founded on palpable injustice, and was supported by no national party, would have been impelled by rage and despair into such sanguinary measures; and if these furious expedients had been employed on one side, revenge would naturally have pushed the other party, after a return of power, to retaliate upon their enemies. No social intercourse was maintained between the parties; no marriages or alliances contracted. The royalists, though oppressed, harassed, persecuted, disdained all affinity with

their masters. The more they were reduced to subjection, the greater superiority did they affect above those usurpers, who by violence and injustice had acquired an ascendant over them.

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THE manners of the two factions were as opposite as those of the most distant nations. "Your friends, the Cavaliers," said a parliamentarian to a royalist, "are very dissolute and debauched." "True," replied the royalist, "they have the infirmities of men: But your friends, the Roundheads, have the vices of devils, tyranny, rebellion, and spiritual pride¹¹." Riot and disorder, it is certain, notwithstanding the good example set them by Charles I. prevailed very much among his partisans. Being commonly men of birth and fortune, to whom excesses are less pernicious than to the vulgar, they were too apt to indulge themselves in all pleasures, particularly those of the table. Opposition to the rigid preciseness of their antagonists increased their inclination to good-fellowship; and the character of a man of pleasure was affected among them, as a sure pledge of attachment to the church and monarchy. Even when ruined by confiscations and sequestrations, they endeavoured to maintain the appearance of a careless and social jollity. "As much as hope is superior to fear," said a poor and merry cavalier, "so much is our situation preferable to that of our enemies. We laugh while they tremble."

¹¹ Sir Philip Warwick.

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THE gloomy enthusiasm, which prevailed among the parliamentary party, is surely the most curious spectacle presented by any history; and the most instructive, as well as entertaining, to a philosophical mind. All recreations were in a manner suspended by the rigid severity of the presbyterians and independents. Horse-races and cock-matches were prohibited as the greatest enormities¹². Even bear-baiting was esteemed heathenish and unchristian; The sport of it, not the inhumanity, gave offence. Colonel Hewson, from his pious zeal, marched with his regiment into London, and destroyed all the bears, which were there kept for the diversion of the citizens. This adventure seems to have given birth to the fiction of Hudibras. Though the English nation be naturally candid and sincere, hypocrisy prevailed among them beyond any example in ancient or modern times. The religious hypocrisy, it may be remarked, is of a peculiar nature; and being generally unknown to the person himself, though more dangerous, it implies less falsehood than any other species of insincerity. The Old Testament, preferably to the New, was the favorite of all the sectaries. The eastern poetical style of that composition made it more easily susceptible of a turn, which was agreeable to them.

WE have had occasion, in the course of this work, to speak of many of the sects, which

¹² Killing no Murder.

prevailed in England: To enumerate them all would be impossible. The quakers, however, are so considerable, at least so singular, as to merit some attention; and as they renounced by principle the use of arms, they never made such a figure in public transactions as to enter into any part of our narrative.

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THE religion of the quakers, like most others, began with the lowest vulgar, and, in its progress, came at last to comprehend people of better quality and fashion. George Fox, born at Drayton in Lancashire in 1624, was the founder of this sect. He was the son of a weaver, and was himself bound apprentice to a shoe-maker. Feeling a stronger impulse towards spiritual contemplations than towards that mechanical profession, he left his master, and went about the country, clothed in a leathern doublet, a dress which he long affected, as well for its singularity as its cheapness. That he might wean himself from sublunary objects, he broke off all connexions with his friends and family, and never dwelled a moment in one place; lest habit should beget new connexions, and depress the sublimity of his aerial meditations. He frequently wandered into the woods, and passed whole days in hollow trees, without company, or any other amusement than his Bible. Having reached that pitch of perfection as to need no other book, he soon advanced to another state of spiritual progress, and began to pay less regard even to that divine composition itself. His own breast, he imagined, was full of

C H A P. the same inspiration, which had guided the
 LXII. prophets and apostles themselves; and by this
 1660. inward light must every spiritual obscurity be
 cleared, by this living spirit must the dead letter
 be animated.

WHEN he had been sufficiently consecrated in his own imagination, he felt that the fumes of self-applause soon dissipate, if not continually supplied by the admiration of others; and he began to seek profelytes. Profelytes were easily gained, at a time when all men's affections were turned towards religion, and when the most extravagant modes of it were sure to be most popular. All the forms of ceremony, invented by pride and ostentation, Fox and his disciples, from a superior pride and ostentation, carefully rejected: Even the ordinary rites of civility were shunned, as the nourishment of carnal vanity and self-conceit. They would bestow no titles of distinction: The name of *friend* was the only salutation, with which they indiscriminately accosted every one. To no person would they make a bow, or move their hat, or give any signs of reverence. Instead of that affected adulation, introduced into modern tongues, of speaking to individuals as if there were a multitude, they returned to the simplicity of ancient languages; and *thou* and *thee* were the only expressions, which, on any consideration, they could be brought to employ.

DRESS too, a material circumstance, distinguished the members of this sect. Every superfluity and ornament was carefully retrenched: No plaits to their coat, no buttons to their sleeves: No

lace, no ruffles, no embroidery. Even a button to the hat, though sometimes useful, yet not being always so, was universally rejected by them with horror and detestation.

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THE violent enthusiasm of this sect, like all high passions, being too strong for the weak nerves to sustain, threw the preachers into convulsions, and shakings, and distortions in their limbs; and they thence received the appellation of *quakers*. Amidst the great toleration, which was then granted to all sects, and even encouragement given to all innovations, this sect alone suffered persecution. From the fervor of their zeal, the quakers broke into churches, disturbed public worship, and harassed the minister and audience with railing and reproaches. When carried before a magistrate, they refused him all reverence, and treated him with the same familiarity as if he had been their equal. Sometimes they were thrown into mad-houses, sometimes into prisons: Sometimes whipped, sometimes pillored. The patience and fortitude, with which they suffered, begat compassion, admiration, esteem¹³. A supernatural spirit was

¹³ The following story is told by Whitlocke, p. 599. Some quakers at Haslington in Northumberland, coming to the minister on the Sabbath-day, and speaking to him, the people fell upon the quakers, and almost killed one or two of them, who going out, fell on their knees, and prayed God to pardon the people, who knew not what they did; and afterwards speaking to the people, so convinced them of the evil they had done in beating them, that the country people fell a quarrelling, and beat one another more than they had before beaten the quakers.

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believed to support them under those sufferings, which the ordinary state of humanity, freed from the illusions of passion, is unable to sustain.

THE quakers crept into the army: But as they preached universal peace, they seduced the military zealots from their profession, and would soon, had they been suffered, have put an end, without any defeat or calamity, to the dominion of the saints. These attempts became a fresh ground of persecution, and a new reason for their progress among the people.

MORALS with this sect were carried, or affected to be carried, to the same degree of extravagance as religion. Give a quaker a blow on one cheek, he held up the other: Ask his cloak, he gave you his coat also: The greatest interest could not engage him, in any court of judicature, to swear even to the truth: He never asked more for his wares than the precise sum, which he was determined to accept. This last maxim is laudable, and continues still to be religiously observed by that sect.

No fanatics ever carried farther the hatred to ceremonies, forms, orders, rites and positive institutions. Even baptism and the Lord's supper, by all other sects believed to be interwoven with the very vitals of christianity, were disdainfully rejected by them. The very sabbath they profaned. The holiness of churches they derided; and they would give to these sacred edifices no other appellation than that of *shops* or *steeple-houses*. No priests were admitted, in

their sect: Every one had received from immediate illumination a character much superior to the sacerdotal. When they met for divine worship, each rose up in his place, and delivered the extemporary inspirations of the Holy Ghost: Women also were admitted to teach the brethren, and were considered as proper vehicles to convey the dictates of the spirit. Sometimes a great many preachers were moved to speak at once: Sometimes a total silence prevailed in their congregations.

SOME quakers attempted to fast forty days in imitation of Christ; and one of them bravely perished in the experiment¹⁴. A female quaker came naked into the church where the protector sat; being moved by the spirit, as she said, to appear *as a sign* to the people. A number of them fancied, that the renovation of all things had commenced, and that clothes were to be rejected together with other superfluities. The sufferings, which followed the practice of this doctrine, were a species of persecution not well calculated for promoting it.

JAMES NAYLOR was a quaker, noted for blasphemy, or rather madness, in the time of the protectorship. He fancied, that he himself was transformed into Christ, and was become the real saviour of the world; and in consequence of this frenzy, he endeavoured to imitate many actions of the Messiah related in the evangelists.

¹⁴ Whitlocke, p. 624.

C H A P. As he bore a resemblance to the common
 LXII. pictures of Christ; he allowed his beard to
 1660. grow in a like form: He raised a person from
 the dead ¹⁵: He was ministered unto by wo-
 men ¹⁶: He entered Bristol, mounted on a horse:
 I suppose, from the difficulty in that place of
 finding an ass: His disciples spread their garments
 before him, and cried, "Hosanna to the highest;
 "holy, holy is the Lord God of Sabbaoth." When
 carried before the magistrate, he would give
 no other answer to all questions than "thou
 "hast said it." What is remarkable, the par-
 liament thought that the matter deserved their
 attention. Near ten days they spent in inquiries
 and debates about him ¹⁷. They condemned
 him to be pillored, whipped, burned in the
 face, and to have his tongue bored through
 with a red-hot iron. All these severities he
 bore with the usual patience. So far his delusion
 supported him. But the sequel spoiled all. He
 was sent to Bridewel, confined to hard labor,
 fed on bread and water, and debarred from
 all his disciples, male and female. His illusion
 dissipated; and after some time, he was con-
 tented to come out an ordinary man, and
 return to his usual occupations.

THE chief taxes in England, during the time

¹⁵ Harleian Miscellany, vol. vi. p. 399. One Dorcas Earberry made oath before a magistrate, that she had been dead two days, and that Naylor had brought her to life.

¹⁶ Id. *ibid.*

¹⁷ Thurloe, vol. v. p. 708.

of the commonwealth, were the monthly assessments, the excise, and the customs. The assessments were levied on personal estates as well as on land¹⁸; and commissioners were appointed in each county for rating the individuals. The highest assessment amounted to 120,000 pounds a month in England; the lowest was 35,000. The assessments in Scotland were sometimes 10,000 pounds a month¹⁹; commonly 6000. Those on Ireland 9000. At a medium, this tax might have afforded about a million a year. The excise, during the civil wars, was levied on bread, flesh-meat, as well as beer, ale, strong-waters, and many other commodities. After the king was subdued, bread and flesh-meat were exempted from excise. The customs on exportation were lowered in 1656²⁰. In 1650, commissioners were appointed to levy both customs and excises. Cromwel in 1657 returned to the old practice of farming. Eleven hundred thousand pounds were then offered, both for customs and excise, a greater sum than had ever been levied by the commissioners²¹: The whole of the taxes during that period might at a medium amount to above two millions a year; a sum, which, though moderate, much exceeded the revenue of any former king²². Sequestrations, compositions,

¹⁸ Scobel, p. 419.¹⁹ Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 476.²⁰ Scobel, p. 376.²¹ Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 425.²² It appears that the late king's revenue from 1637, to the meeting of the long parliament, was only 900,000 pounds, of which 200,000 may be esteemed illegal.

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sale of crown and church lands, and of the lands of delinquents, yielded also considerable sums, but very difficult to be estimated. Church lands are said to have been sold for a million²³. None of these were ever valued at above ten or eleven years purchase²⁴. The estates of delinquents amounted to above 200,000 pounds a year²⁵. Cromwel died more than two millions in debt²⁶; though the parliament had left him in the treasury above 500,000 pounds; and in stores, the value of 700,000 pounds²⁷.

THE committee of danger in April 1648 voted to raise the army to 40,000 men²⁸. The same year, the pay of the army was estimated at 80,000 pounds a month²⁹. The establishment of the army in 1652, was in Scotland 15,000 foot, 2580 horse, 560 dragoons; in England, 4700 foot, 2520 horse, garrisons 6154. In all, 31,519, besides officers³⁰. The army in Scotland was afterwards considerably reduced. The army in Ireland was not much short of 20,000 men; so that upon the whole, the commonwealth maintained in 1652 a standing army of more than 50,000 men. Its pay amounted to a yearly sum of 1,047,715 pounds³¹. Afterwards the protector reduced the establishment to 30,000 men; as appears by the *Instrument of Government* and *Humble Petition* and

²³ Dr. Walker, p. 14.

²⁴ Thurloe, vol. i. p. 753.

²⁵ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 414.

²⁶ Ibid. vol. vii. p. 667.

²⁷ World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwel.

²⁸ Whitlocke, p. 298.

²⁹ Ibid. p. 378.

³⁰ Journal, 2d December, 1652.

³¹ Id. ibid.

Advice. His frequent enterprizes obliged him from time to time to augment them. Richard had on foot in England an army of 13,258 men, in Scotland 9506, in Ireland about 10,000 men³². The foot-soldiers had commonly a shilling a day³³. The horse had two shillings and sixpence; so that many gentlemen and younger brothers of good family inlisted in the protector's cavalry³⁴. No wonder, that such men were averse from the re-establishment of civil government, by which, they well knew, they must be deprived of so gainful a profession.

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At the time of the battle of Worcester, the parliament had on foot about 80,000 men, partly militia, partly regular forces. The vigor of the commonwealth, and the great capacity of those members, who had assumed the government, never at any time appeared so conspicuous³⁵.

THE whole revenue of the public during the protectorship of Richard was estimated at 1,868,717 pounds: His annual expenses at 2,201,540 pounds. An additional revenue was demanded from parliament³⁶.

THE commerce and industry of England increased extremely during the peaceable period of Charles's reign: The trade to the East-Indies and to Guinea became considerable. The English

³² Journal, 6th of April, 1659.

³³ Thurloe, vol. i. p. 395. vol. ii. p. 414.

³⁴ Gumble's Life of Monk.

³⁵ Whitlocke, p. 477.

³⁶ Journal, 7th April, 1659.

C H A P. LXII. 1660. possessed almost the sole trade with Spain. Twenty thousand cloths were annually sent to Turkey ³⁷. Commerce met with interruption, no doubt, from the civil wars and convulsions, which afterwards prevailed; though it soon recovered after the establishment of the commonwealth. The war with the Dutch, by distressing the commerce of so formidable a rival, served to encourage trade in England: The Spanish war was to an equal degree pernicious. All the effects of the English merchants, to an immense value, were confiscated in Spain. The prevalence of democratical principles engaged the country gentlemen to bind their sons apprentices to merchants ³⁸; and commerce has ever since been more honorable in England than in any other European kingdom. The exclusive companies, which formerly confined trade, were never expressly abolished by any ordinance of parliament during the commonwealth; but as men paid no regard to the prerogative, whence the charters of these companies were derived, the monopoly was gradually invaded, and commerce increased by the increase of liberty. Interest in 1650 was reduced to six per cent.

THE customs in England, before the civil wars, are said to have amounted to 500,000 pounds a year ³⁹: A sum ten times greater than during the best period in queen Elizabeth's reign: But

³⁷ Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 421. 423. 430. 467.

³⁸ Clarendon.

³⁹ Lewis Roberts's Treasure of Traffick.

there is probably some exaggeration in this C H A P.
matter. LXII.

THE Post-house, in 1653, was farmed at 10,000 pounds a year, which was deemed a considerable sum for the three kingdoms. Letters paid only about half the present postage.

FROM 1619 to 1638, there had been coined 6,900,042 pounds. From 1638 to 1657, the coinage amounted to 7,733,521 pounds⁴⁰. Dr. Davenant has told us, from the registers of the mint, that, between 1558 and 1659, there had been coined 19,832,476 pounds in gold and silver.

THE first mention of tea, coffee, and chocolate, is about 1660⁴¹. Asparagus, artichokes, colliflower, and a variety of fallads, were about the same time introduced into England⁴².

THE colony of New England increased by means of the puritans, who fled thither, in order to free themselves from the constraint, which Laud and the church-party had imposed upon them, and before the commencement of the civil wars, it is supposed to have contained 25,000 souls⁴³. For a like reason, the catholics, afterwards, who found themselves exposed to many hardships, and dreaded still worse treatment, went over to America in great numbers, and settled the colony of Maryland.

BEFORE the civil wars, learning and the fine

⁴⁰ Happy future state of England.

⁴¹ Anderson, vol. ii. p. 111.

⁴² Id. *ibid*.

⁴³ British Empire in America, vol. i. p. 372.

C H A P. arts were favored at court, and a good taste
LXII. began to prevail in the nation. The king loved
1660. pictures, sometimes handled the pencil himself, and was a good judge of the art. The pieces of foreign masters were bought up at a vast price, and the value of pictures doubled in Europe by the emulation between Charles and Philip IV. of Spain, who were touched with the same elegant passion. Vandyke was carested and enriched at court. Inigo Jones was master of the king's buildings; though afterwards persecuted by the parliament, on account of the part which he had in rebuilding St. Paul's, and for obeying some orders of council, by which he was directed to pull down houses, in order to make room for that edifice. Laws, who had not been surpassed by any musician before him, was much beloved by the king, who called him the father of music. Charles was a good judge of writing, and was thought by some more anxious with regard to purity of style than became a monarch⁴⁴. Notwithstanding his narrow revenue, and his freedom from all vanity, he lived in such magnificence, that he possessed four and twenty palaces, all of them elegantly and completely furnished; in-so-much, that, when he removed from one to another, he was not obliged to transport any thing along with him.

CROMWEL, though himself a barbarian, was not insensible to literary merit. Usher, notwith-

⁴⁴ Burnet.

standing his being a bishop, received a pension from him. Marvel and Milton were in his service. Waller, who was his relation, was carested by him. That poet always said, that the Protector himself was not so wholly illiterate as was commonly imagined. He gave a hundred pounds a year to the divinity professor at Oxford; and an historian mentions this bounty as an instance of his love of literature⁴⁵. He intended to have erected a college at Durham for the benefit of the northern counties.

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CIVIL wars, especially when founded on principles of liberty, are not commonly unfavorable to the arts of eloquence and composition; or rather, by presenting nobler and more interesting objects, they amply compensate that tranquillity, of which they bereave the muses. The speeches of the parliamentary orators during this period are of a strain much superior to what any former age had produced in England; and the force and compass of our tongue were then first put to trial. It must, however, be confessed, that the wretched fanaticism, which so much infected the parliamentary party, was no less destructive of taste and science, than of all law and order. Gaiety and wit were proscribed: Human learning despised: Freedom of inquiry detested: Cant and hypocrisy alone encouraged. It was an article positively insisted on in the preliminaries to the treaty of Uxbridge, that all play-houses should

⁴⁵ Neale's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 123.

C H A P. for ever be abolished. Sir John Davenant, says
 LXII. Whitlocke ⁴⁶, speaking of the year, 1658, published
 1660. an opera, notwithstanding the nicety of the times. All the king's furniture was put to sale: His pictures, disposed of at very low prices, enriched all the collections in Europe: The cartoons, when complete, were only appraised at 300 pounds, though the whole collection of the king's curiosities was sold at above 50,000 ⁴⁷. Even the royal palaces were pulled in pieces and the materials of them sold. The very library and medals at St. James's, were intended by the generals to be brought to auction, in order to pay the arrears of some regiments of cavalry, quartered near London: But Selden, apprehensive of the loss, engaged his friend Whitlocke, then lord-keeper for the commonwealth, to apply for the office of librarian. This expedient saved that valuable collection.

It is however remarkable, that the greatest genius by far, that shone out in England during this period, was deeply engaged with these fanatics, and even prostituted his pen in theological controversy, in factious disputes, and in justifying the most violent measures of the party. This was John Milton, whose poems are admirable, though liable to some objections; his prose-writings disagreeable, though not altogether defective in genius. Nor are all his poems equal: His *Paradise Lost*, his *Comus*, and a few others shine out amidst some flat and insipid compositions: Even

⁴⁶ P. 639.

⁴⁷ Parl. Hist. vol. xix, p. 83.

in the *Paradise Lost*, his capital performance, there are very long passages, amounting to near a third of the work, almost wholly destitute of harmony and elegance, nay, of all vigor of imagination. This natural inequality in Milton's genius was much increased by the inequalities in his subject; of which some parts are of themselves the most lofty that can enter into human conception; others would have required the most labored elegance of composition to support them. It is certain, that this author, when in a happy mood, and employed on a noble subject, is the most wonderfully sublime of any poet in any language; Homer and Lucretius and Tasso not excepted. More concise than Homer, more simple than Tasso, more nervous than Lucretius; had he lived in a later age, and learned to polish some rudeness in his verses; had he enjoyed better fortune, and possessed leisure to watch the returns of genius in himself; he had attained the pinnacle of perfection, and borne away the palm of epic poetry.

It is well known, that Milton never enjoyed in his lifetime the reputation which he deserved. His *Paradise Lost* was long neglected: Prejudices against an apologist for the regicides, and against a work not wholly purged from the cant of former times, kept the ignorant world from perceiving the prodigious merit of that performance. Lord Somers, by encouraging a good edition of it, about twenty years after the author's death, first brought it into request; and Tonson, in his

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C H A P. LXII. 1660. dedication of a smaller edition, speaks of it as a work just beginning to be known. Even during the prevalence of Milton's party, he seems never to have been much regarded; and Whitlocke ⁴⁸ talks of one Milton, as he calls him, a blind man, who was employed in translating a treaty with Sweden into Latin. These forms of expression are amusing to posterity, who consider how obscure Whitlocke himself, though lord-keeper, and ambassador, and indeed a man of great abilities and merit, has become in comparison of Milton.

It is not strange, that Milton received no encouragement after the restoration: It is more to be admired, that he escaped with his life. Many of the cavaliers blamed extremely that lenity towards him, which was so honorable in the king, and so advantageous to posterity. It is said, that he had saved Davenant's life during the protectorship; and Davenant in return afforded him like protection after the restoration; being sensible, that men of letters ought always to regard their sympathy of taste as a more powerful band of union, than any difference of party or opinion as a source of animosity. It was during a state of poverty, blindness, disgrace, danger, and old age, that Milton composed his wonderful poem, which not only surpassed all the performances of his contemporaries, but all the compositions, which had flowed from his pen, during

⁴⁸ P. 633.

the vigor of his age, and the height of his prosperity. This circumstance is not the least remarkable of all those which attend that great genius. He died in 1674, aged 66.

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WALLER was the first refiner of English poetry, at least of English rhyme; but his performances still abound with many faults, and what is more material, they contain but feeble and superficial beauties. Gaiety, wit, and ingenuity are their ruling character: They aspire not to the sublime; still less to the pathetic. They treat of love, without making us feel any tenderness; and abound in panegyric, without exciting admiration. The panegyric, however, on Cromwel contains more force than we should expect from the other compositions of this poet.

WALLER was born to an ample fortune, was early introduced to the court, and lived in the best company. He possessed talents for eloquence as well as poetry; and till his death, which happened in a good old age he was the delight of the house of commons. The errors of his life proceeded more from want of courage than of honor or integrity. He died in 1687, aged 82.

COWLEY is an author extremely corrupted by the bad taste of his age; but had he lived even in the purest times of Greece or Rome, he must always have been a very indifferent poet. He had no ear for harmony; and his verses are only known to be such by the rhyme, which terminates them. In his rugged untunable numbers are conveyed sentiments the most strained and distorted;

C H A P. long spun allegories, distant allusions, and
 LXII. forced conceits. Great ingenuity, however, and
 1669. vigor of thought sometimes break out amidst
 those unnatural conceptions: A few anacreontics
 surprise us by their ease and gaiety: His prose-
 writings please, by the honesty and goodness
 which they express, and even by their spleen and
 melancholy. This author was much more praised
 and admired during his life-time, and celebrated
 after his death, than the great Milton. He died
 in 1667, aged 49.

SIR JOHN DENHAM in his Cooper's Hill (for
 none of his other poems merit attention) has a
 loftiness and vigor, which had not before him
 been attained by any English poet, who wrote
 in rhyme. The mechanical difficulties of that
 measure retarded its improvement. Shakespeare,
 whose tragic scenes are sometimes so wonderfully
 forcible and expressive, is a very indifferent poet,
 when he attempts to rhyme. Precision and neatness
 are chiefly wanting in Denham. He died in 1688,
 aged 73.

No English author in that age was more
 celebrated both abroad and at home than Hobbes:
 In our time, he is much neglected: A lively in-
 stance how precarious all reputations, founded on
 reasoning and philosophy! A pleasant comedy,
 which paints the manners of the age, and exposes
 a faithful picture of nature, is a durable work,
 and is transmitted to the latest posterity. But a
 system, whether physical or metaphysical, com-
 monly owes its success to its novelty; and is no

sooner canvassed with impartiality than its weakness is discovered. Hobbes's politics are fitted only to promote tyranny, and his ethics to encourage licentiousness. Though an enemy to religion, he partakes nothing of the spirit of scepticism; but is as positive and dogmatical as if human reason, and his reason in particular, could attain a thorough conviction in these subjects. Clearness and propriety of style are the chief excellences of Hobbes's writings. In his own person he is represented to have been a man of virtue; a character nowise surprising, notwithstanding his libertine system of ethics. Timidity is the principal fault, with which he is reproached: He lived to an extreme old age, yet could never reconcile himself to the thoughts of death. The boldness of his opinions and sentiments form a remarkable contrast to this part of his character. He died in 1679, aged 91.

HARRINGTON's Oceana was well adapted to that age, when the plans of imaginary republics were the daily subjects of debate and conversation; and even in our time it is justly admired as a work of genius and invention. The idea, however, of a perfect and immortal common-wealth, will always be found as chimerical as that of a perfect and immortal man. The style of this author wants ease and fluency; but the good matter, which his work contains, makes compensation. He died in 1677, age 66.

HARVEY is entitled to the glory of having made, by reasoning alone, without any mixture

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C H A P. of accident, a capital discovery in one of the
 LXII. most important branches of science. He had also
 1660. the happiness of establishing at once his theory
 on the most solid and convincing proofs; and
 posterity has added little to the arguments sug-
 gested by his industry and ingenuity. His trea-
 tise of the circulation of the blood is farther
 embellished by that warmth and spirit, which so
 naturally accompany the genius of invention.
 This great man was much favored by Charles I.
 who gave him the liberty of using all the deer
 in the royal forests for perfecting his discoveries
 on the generation of animals. It was remarked,
 that no physician in Europe, who had reached
 forty years of age, ever, to the end of his life,
 adopted Harvey's doctrine of the circulation of
 the blood, and that his practice in London dimi-
 nished extremely, from the reproach drawn upon
 him, by that great and signal discovery. So
 slow is the progress of truth in every science,
 even when not opposed by factious or superstitious
 prejudices! He died in 1657, aged 79.

THIS age affords great materials for history;
 but did not produce any accomplished historian.
 Clarendon, however, will always be esteemed
 an entertaining writer, even independent of our
 curiosity to know the facts, which he relates.
 His style is prolix and redundant, and suffocates
 us by the length of its periods: But it discovers
 imagination and sentiment, and pleases us at the
 same time that we disapprove of it. He is more
 partial in appearance than in reality: For he seems

perpetually anxious to apologize for the king; but his apologies are often well grounded. He is less partial in his relation of facts, than in his account of characters: He was too honest a man to falsify the former; his affections were easily capable, unknown to himself, of disguising the latter. An air of probity and goodness runs through the whole work; as these qualities did in reality embellish the whole life of the author. He died in 1674, aged 66.

THESE are the chief performances, which engage the attention of posterity. Those numberless productions, with which the press then abounded; the cant of the pulpit, the declamations of party, the subtilties of theology, all these have long ago sunk in silence and oblivion. Even a writer, such as Selden, whose learning was his chief excellence; or Chillingworth, an acute disputant against the papists, will scarcely be ranked among the classics of our language or country.

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N O T E S
T O T H E
T E N T H V O L U M E.

NOTE [A], p. 35.

DR. BIRCH has written a treatise on this subject. It is not my business to oppose any facts contained in that gentleman's performance. I shall only produce arguments, which prove that Glamorgan, when he received his private commission, had injunctions from the king to act altogether in concert with Ormond. (1.) It seems to be implied in the very words of the commission. Glamorgan is empowered and authorized to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman catholics in Ireland. "If upon necessity any (*articles*) be condescended unto, wherein the king's lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for us at present publicly to own." Here no articles are mentioned, which are not fit to be communicated to Ormond, but only not fit for him and the king publicly to be seen in, and to avow. (2.) The king's protestation to Ormond, ought, both on account of that prince's character, and the reasons he assigns, to have the greatest weight. The words are these, "Ormond, I cannot but add to my long letter, that, upon the word of a christian, I never intended Glamorgan should treat any thing without your approbation, much less without your knowledge. For besides the injury to you, I was always diffident of his judgment (though I could not think him so extremely weak as now to my cost I have found); which you may easily perceive in a postscript of a letter of mine to you." Carte, vol. ii. App. xxiii. It is impossible, that any man of honor, however he might dissemble with his enemies, would assert a falsehood in so solemn a manner to his best friend, especially where that person must have had opportunities of knowing the

truth. The letter, whose postscript is mentioned by the king, is to be found in Carte, vol. ii. App. xiii. (3.) As the king had really so low an opinion of Glamorgan's understanding, it is very unlikely that he would trust him with the sole management of so important and delicate a treaty. And if he had intended, that Glamorgan's negotiation should have been independent of Ormond, he would never have told the latter nobleman of it, nor have put him on his guard against Glamorgan's imprudence. That the king judged aright of this nobleman's character, appears from his *century of arts or scantling of inventions*, which is a ridiculous compound of lies, chimeras and impossibilities, and shows what might be expected from such a man. (4.) Mr. Carte has published a whole series of the king's correspondence with Ormond from the time that Glamorgan came into Ireland; and it is evident that Charles all along considers the lord lieutenant as the person who was conducting the negotiations with the Irish. The 31st of July 1645, after the battle of Naseby, being reduced to great straits, he writes earnestly to Ormond to conclude a peace upon certain conditions mentioned, much inferior to those granted by Glamorgan; and to come over himself with all the Irish he could engage in his service. Carte, vol. iii. No. 400. This would have been a great absurdity, if he had already fixed a different canal, by which, on very different conditions, he purposed to establish a peace. On the 22d of October, as his distresses multiply, he somewhat enlarges the conditions, though they still fall short of Glamorgan's: A new absurdity! See Carte, vol. iii. p. 411. (5.) But what is equivalent to a demonstration, that Glamorgan was conscious, that he had no powers to conclude a treaty on these terms, or without consulting the lord lieutenant, and did not even expect, that the king would ratify the articles, is the defeasance which he gave to the Irish council at the time of signing the treaty. "The earl of Glamorgan does no way intend hereby to oblige his majesty other than he

“ himself shall please, after he has received these 10,000
“ men as a pledge and testimony of the said Roman
“ catholics’ loyalty and fidelity to his majesty; yet he
“ promises faithfully, upon his word and honor, not to
“ acquaint his majesty with his defeasance, till he had
“ endeavoured, as far as in him lay, to induce his
“ majesty to the granting of the particulars in the said
“ articles: But that done, the said commissioners
“ discharge the said earl of Glamorgan, both in honor
“ and conscience, of any farther engagement to them
“ therein; though his majesty should not be pleased to
“ grant the said particulars in the articles mentioned;
“ the said earl having given them assurance, upon his
“ word, honor, and voluntary oath, that he would
“ never, to any person whatsoever, discover this defea-
“ sance in the interim without their consents.” Dr.
Birch, p. 96. All Glamorgan’s view was to get troops
for the king’s service without hurting his own honor or
his master’s. The wonder only is, why the Irish accept-
ed of a treaty, which bound no body, and which the
very person, who concludes it, seems to confess he
does not expect to be ratified. They probably hoped,
that the king would, from their services, be more ea-
sily induced to ratify a treaty which was concluded, than
to consent to its conclusion. (6.) I might add, that
the lord lieutenant’s concurrence in the treaty was the
more requisite; because without it the treaty could not
be carried into execution by Glamorgan, nor the Irish
troops be transported into England: And even with Or-
mond’s concurrence, it clearly appears, that a treaty, so
ruinous to the protestant religion in Ireland, could not
be executed in opposition to the zealous protestants in
that kingdom. No one can doubt of this truth, who
peruses Ormond’s correspondence in Mr. Carte. The
king was sufficiently apprized of this difficulty. It appears
indeed to be the only reason why Ormond objected to
the granting of high terms to the Irish catholics.

DR. BIRCH, in p. 360, has published a letter of the

king's to Glamorgan, where he says, "Howbeit I know
" you cannot be but confident of my making good all
" instructions and promises to you and the nuncio." But
it is to be remarked that this letter is dated in April 5,
1646; after there had been a new negociation entered
into between Glamorgan and the Irish, and after a pro-
visional treaty had even been concluded between them.
See Dr. Birch, p. 179. The king's assurances, there-
fore, can plainly relate only to this recent transaction. The
old treaty had long been disavowed by the king, and
supposed by all parties to be annulled.

NOTE [B], p. 83.

SALMONET, Ludlow, Hollis, &c. all these, especi-
ally the last, being the declared inveterate enemies of
Cromwel, are the more to be credited, when they
advance any fact, which may serve to apologize
for his violent and criminal conduct. There prevails a
story, that Cromwel intercepted a letter written to the
queen, where the king said, that he would first raise
and then destroy Cromwel. But, besides that this con-
duct seems to contradict the character of the king, it is,
on other accounts, totally unworthy of credit. It is
first told by Roger Coke, a very passionate and foolish
historian, who wrote too so late as king William's reign;
and even he mentions it only as mere rumor or hearsay,
without any known foundation. In the Memoirs of lord
Broghill, we meet with another story of an intercepted
letter which deserves some more attention, and agrees
very well with the narration here given. It is thus relat-
ed by Mr. Maurice, chaplain to Roger, earl of Orrery.
" Lord Orrery, in the time of his greatness with Crom-
" wel, just after he had so seasonably relieved him in
" his great distress at Clonmell, riding out of Youghall one
" day with him and Ireton, they fell into discourse
" about the king's death. Cromwel thereupon said more
" than once, that if the king had followed his own

“ judgment, and had been attended by none but trusty
“ servants, he had fooled them all; and that once they
“ had a mind to have closed with him, but, upon
“ something that happened, fell off from that design.
“ Orrery finding them in good humor, and being alone
“ with them, asked, if he might presume to desire to
“ know, why they would once have closed with his
“ majesty, and why they did not. Cromwel very free-
“ ly told him, he would satisfy him in both his queries.
“ The reason (says he) why we would have closed with
“ the king was this: We found that the Scotch and
“ presbyterians began to be more powerful than we,
“ and were likely to agree with him, and leave us in
“ the lurch. For this reason we thought it best to prevent
“ them by offering first to come in upon reasonable con-
“ ditions: But whilst our thoughts were taken up with
“ this subject, there came a letter to us from one of
“ our spies, who was of the king's bed-chamber, acquainting
“ us, that our final doom was decreed that very day;
“ that he could not possibly learn what it was, but we
“ might discover it, if we could but intercept a letter
“ sent from the king to the queen, wherein he informed
“ her of his resolution; that this letter was sown up in
“ the skirt of a saddle, and the bearer of it, would come
“ with the saddle upon his head, about ten of the clock
“ that night to the Blue Boar in Holborn, where he
“ was to take horse for Dover. The messenger knew
“ nothing of the letter in the saddle, though some in
“ Dover did. We were at Windsor (said Cromwel)
“ when we received this letter, and immediately upon
“ the receipt of it, Ireton and I resolved to take one
“ trusty fellow with us, and to go in troopers' habits to
“ that inn. We did so; and leaving our man at the
“ gate of the inn (which had a wicket only open to let
“ persons in and out), to watch and give us notice
“ when any man came in with a saddle, we went into
“ a drinking-stall. We there continued, drinking cans of
“ beer, till about ten of the clock, when our centinel
at

“ at the gate gave us notice , that the man with the
 “ faddle was come. We rose up presently , and just as
 “ the man was leading out his horse faddled we came
 “ up to him with drawn swords , and told him we were
 “ to search all that went in and out there ; as he
 “ looked like an honest man , we would only search his
 “ faddle , and so dismiss him. The faddle was ungirt
 “ we carried it into the stall , where we had been drink-
 “ ing , and ripping open one of the skirts , we there
 “ found the letter we wanted. Having thus got it into
 “ our hands , we delivered the man (whom we had left
 “ with our centinel) his faddle , told him he was an
 “ honest fellow , and bid him go about his business ;
 “ which he did , pursuing his journey without more ado ,
 “ and ignorant of the harm he had suffered. We found
 “ in the letter , that his majesty acquainted the queen ,
 “ that he was courted by both factions , the Scotch
 “ presbyterians and the army ; and that those which
 “ bade the fairest for him should have him : But yet he thought
 “ he should close with the Scots sooner than with the
 “ other. Upon this we returned to Windsor ; and find-
 “ ing we were not like to have good terms from the
 “ king , we from that time vowed his destruction. ” “ This
 “ relation suiting well enough with other passages and
 “ circumstances at this time , I have inserted to gratify
 “ the reader’s curiosity. ” Carte’s Ormond , vol. ii. p. 12.

NOTE [C], p. 86.

T H E S E are the words : “ Laneric ; I wonder to
 “ hear (if that be true , that some of my friends say ,
 “ that my going to Jersey would have much more further-
 “ ed my personal treaty , than my coming hither , for
 “ which , as I see no color of reason , so I had not
 “ been here , if I had thought that fancy true , or
 “ had not been secured of a personal treaty ; of
 “ which I neither do , nor I hope will repent : For
 “ I am daily more and more satisfied with the governor ,
 VOL. X. D d

“ and find these islanders very good , peaceable and
 “ quiet people. This encouragement I have thought not
 “ unfit for you to receive, hoping at least it may do
 “ good upon others , though needless to you.” Burnet’s
 Memoirs of Hamilton , p. 326. See also Rushworth,
 part 4. vol. ii. p. 941. All the writers of *that* age,
 except Clarendon, represent the king’s going to *the* isle
 of Wight as voluntary and intended. Perhaps the *king*
 thought it little for his credit, to be trepanned into this
 measure, and was more willing to take it on himself as
 entirely voluntary. Perhaps, he thought it would encour-
 age his friends , if they thought him in a situation,
 which was not disagreeable to him.

NOTE [D], p. 110.

THE king composed a letter to the prince, in which
 he related the whole course of this transaction , and
 accompanied his narrative with several wise, as well as
 pathetical reflections and advices. The words with which
 he concluded the letter , are remarkable. “ By what
 “ hath been said, you see how long I have labored in
 “ the search of peace: Do not you be disheartened to
 “ tread in the same steps. Use all worthy means to re-
 “ store yourself to your rights , but prefer the way of
 “ peace: Show the greatness of your mind, rather to
 “ conquer your enemies by pardoning, than by punish-
 “ ing. If you saw how unmanly and unchristian *the*
 “ implacable disposition is in our ill-wishers, you *would*
 “ avoid that spirit. Censure me not for having parted
 “ with so much of our right: The price was great; but
 “ the commodity was, security to us, peace to my peo-
 “ ple. And I am confident , that another parliament
 “ would remember, how useful a king’s power is to a
 “ people’s liberty; of how much power I divested myself
 “ that I and they might meet once again in a parliamentary
 “ way, in order to agree the bounds of prince and people.
 “ Give belief to my experience, never to affect more

“ greatness or prerogative , than what is really and
“ intrinsically for the good of the subjects , not the
“ satisfaction of favorites. If you thus use it, you will
“ never want means to be a father to all , and a bountiful
“ prince to any , whom you incline to be extraordinarily
“ gracious to. You may perceive , that all men intrust
“ their treasure , where it returns them interest ; and if
“ a prince , like the sea , receive and repay all the
“ fresh streams , which the rivers intrust with him , they
“ will not grudge , but pride themselves , to make him
“ up an ocean. These considerations may make you as
“ great a prince as your father is a low one ; and your
“ state may be so much the more established , as mine
“ had been shaken. For our subjects have learned , I
“ dare say , that victories over their princes , are but
“ triumphs over themselves , and so , will more unwillingly
“ hearken to changes hereafter. The English nation are
“ a sober people , however , at present , infatuated. I know
“ not but this may be the last time , I may speak to
“ you or the world publicly. I am sensible into what
“ hands I am fallen ; and yet , I bless God , I have those in-
“ ward refreshments , which the malice of my enemies cannot
“ perturb. I have learned to be busy myself , by retiring
“ into myself ; and therefore can the better digest what-
“ ever befalls me , not doubting , but God’s providence
“ will restrain our enemies’ power , and turn their fierce-
“ ness into his praise. To conclude , if God give you
“ success , use it humbly , and be ever far from revenge.
“ If he restore you to your right on hard conditions ,
“ whatever you promise , keep. These men , who have
“ violated laws , which they were bound to preserve , will
“ find their triumphs full of trouble. But do not you
“ think any thing in the world worth attaining , by foul
“ and unjust means.”

NOTE [E], p. 138.

THE imputation of insincerity on Charles I. like most party clamors, is difficult to be removed; though it may not here be improper to say something with regard to it. I shall first remark, that this imputation seems to be of a later growth than his own age; and that even his enemies, though they loaded him with many calumnies, did not insist on this accusation. Ludlow, I think, is almost the only parliamentarian, who imputes that vice to him; and how passionate a writer he is, must be obvious to every one. Neither Clarendon nor any other of the royalists ever justify him from insincerity; as not supposing that he had ever been accused of it. In the second place, his deportment and character in common life was free from that vice: He was reserved, distant, stately; cold in his address, plain in his discourse, inflexible in his principles; wide of the caressing, insinuating manners of his son; or the professing, talkative humor of his father. The imputation of insincerity must be grounded on some of his public actions, which we are therefore in the third place to examine. The following are the only instances, which I find cited to confirm that accusation. (1.) His vouching Buckingham's narrative of the transactions in Spain. But it is evident that Charles himself was deceived: Why otherwise did he quarrel with Spain? The following is a passage of a letter from lord Kensington, ambassador in France, to the duke of Buckingham, Cabbala, p. 318. "But his highness (the prince) had observed as great
 "a weakness and folly as that, in that after they (the
 "Spaniards) had used him so ill, they would suffer
 "him to depart, which was one of the first speeches he
 "uttered after he came into the ship: But did he say
 "so? said the queen (of France). Yes, madam, I
 "will assure you, quoth I, from the witness of mine

“ own ears. She smiled and replied, Indeed I heard
“ he was used ill. So he was, answered I, but not
“ in his entertainment; for that was as splendid as
“ that country could afford it; but in their frivolous
“ delays, and in the unreasonable conditions which
“ they propounded and pressed, upon the advantage
“ they had of his princely person.” Bishop Burnet, in
his history of the house of Hamilton, p. 154. has
preserved a letter of the king’s to the Scottish bishops,
in which he desires them not to be present at the par-
liament, where they would be forced to ratify the aboli-
tion of their own order: “ For,” adds the king, “ we
“ do hereby assure you, that it shall be still one of
“ our chiefest studies how to rectify and establish the
“ government of that church a-right, and to repair your
“ losses, which we desire you to be most confident of.”
And in another place, “ You may rest secure, that
“ though perhaps we may give way for the present to
“ that which will be prejudicial both to the church and our
“ own government: yet we shall not leave thinking in
“ time how to remedy both.” But does the king say,
that he will arbitrarily revoke his concessions? Does not
candor require us rather to suppose, that he hoped his
authority would so far recover as to enable him to obtain
the national consent to re-establish episcopacy, which he
believed so material a part of religion as well as of govern-
ment? It is not easy indeed to think how he could hope
to effect this purpose in any other way than his father
had taken, that is, by consent of parliament. (3.)
There is a passage in lord Clarendon, where it is said,
that the king assented the more easily to the bill, which
excluded the bishops from the house of peers; because
he thought, that that law, being enacted by force,
could not be valid. But the king certainly reasoned right
in that conclusion. Three-fourths of the temporal peers
were at that time banished by the violence of the popu-
lace: Twelve bishops were unjustly thrown into the

Tower by the commons: Great numbers of the commons themselves were kept away by fear or violence: The king himself was chased from London. If all this be not force, there is no such thing. But this scruple of the king's affects only the bishops' bill, and that against pressing. The other constitutional laws had passed without the least appearance of violence, as did indeed *all* the bills passed during the first year, except Strafford's attainder, which could not be recalled. The parliament, therefore, even if they had known the king's sentiments in this particular, could not, on that account, have had any just foundation of jealousy. (4.) The king's letter intercepted at Naseby, has been the source of much clamor. We have spoken of it already in chap. lviii. Nothing is more usual in all public transactions than such distinctions. After the death of Charles II. of Spain, king William's ambassadors gave the duke of Anjou the title of king of Spain: Yet at that very time king William was secretly forming alliances to dethrone him: And soon after he refused him that title, and insisted (as he had reason) that he had not acknowledged his right. Yet king William justly passes for a very sincere prince; and this transaction is not regarded as any objection to his character in that particular. In all the negotiations at the peace of Ryfwic, the French ambassadors always addressed king William as king of England; yet it was made an express article of the treaty, that the French king should acknowledge him as such. Such a palpable difference is there between giving a title to a prince, and positively recognizing his right to it. I may add, that Charles when he inserted that protestation in the council-books before his council, surely thought he had reason to justify his conduct. There were too many men of honor in that company to avow a palpable cheat. To which we may subjoin, that, if men were as much disposed to judge of this prince's actions with candor as severity, this precaution of entering a protest in his council-books might rather pass for a proof of scrupulous honor; lest he should

afterwards be reproached with breach of his word, when he should think proper again to declare the assembly at Westminster no parliament. (5.) The denying of his commission to Glamorgan is another instance which has been cited. This matter has been already treated in a note to chap. lviii. That transaction was entirely innocent. Even if the king had given a commission to Glamorgan to conclude that treaty, and had ratified it, will any reasonable man, in our age think it strange, that, in order to save his own life, his crown, his family, his friends, and his party, he should make a treaty with papists, and grant them very large concessions for their religion. (6.) There is another of the king's intercepted letters to the queen commonly mentioned; where, it is pretended, he talked of raising and then destroying Cromwel: But that story stands on no manner of foundation, as we have observed in a preceding note to this chapter. In a word, the parliament, after the commencement of their violences, and still more, after beginning the civil war, had reason for their scruples and jealousies, founded on the very nature of their situation, and on the general propensity of the human mind; not on any fault of the king's character; who was candid, sincere, upright; as much as any man, whom we meet with in history. Perhaps, it would be difficult to find another character so unexceptionable in this particular.

AS to the other circumstances of Charles's character, chiefly exclaimed against, namely his arbitrary principles in government, one may venture to assert, that the greatest enemies of this prince will not find, in the long line of his predecessors, from the conquest to his time, any one king, except perhaps his father, whose administration was not more arbitrary and less legal, or whose conduct could have been recommended to him, by the popular party themselves, as a model, in this particular, for his government. Nor is it sufficient to say, that example and precedent can never authorize vices. Examples and precedents, uniform and ancient, can surely fix the nature of any constitution, and the limits of any form

of government. There is indeed no other principle by which those land-marks or boundaries can be settled.

WHAT a paradox in human affairs, that Henry VIII. should have been almost adored in his life-time and his memory be respected: While Charles I. should, by the same people, at no greater distance than a century, have been led to a public and ignominious execution, and his name be ever after pursued by falsehood and by obloquy! Even at present, an historian, who, prompted by his courageous generosity, should venture, though from the most authentic and undisputed facts, to vindicate the fame of that prince, would be sure to meet with such treatment, as would discourage even the boldest from so dangerous, however splendid an enterprise.

NOTE [F], p. 161.

THE following instance of extravagance is given by Walker, in his history of Independance, part II. p. 152. About this time, there came six soldiers into the parish church of Walton upon Thames, near twilight; Mr. Faucet, the preacher there, not having till then ended his sermon. One of the soldiers had a lanthorn in his hand, and a candle burning in it, and in the other hand four candles not lighted. He desired the parishioners to stay a while, saying he had a message from God unto them, and thereupon offered to go into the pulpit. But the people refusing to give him leave so to do, or to stay in the church, he went into the church-yard, and there told them, that he had a vision wherein he had received a command from God, to deliver his will unto them, which he was to deliver, and they to receive upon pain of damnation; consisting of five lights. (1.) "That the sabbath was abolished as unnecessary, Jewish, and merely ceremonial. And here (quoth he) I should put out the first light, but the wind is so high I cannot kindle it. (2.) That tithes are abolished as Jewish and ceremonial, a great bur-

“ then to the faints of God, and a discouragement of
“ industry and tillage. And here I should put out my
“ second light, &c. (3.) That ministers are abolished
“ as antichristian, and of no longer use, now Christ
“ himself descends into the hearts of his faints, and his
“ spirit enlighteneth them with revelations and inspirations.
“ And here I should put out my third light, &c. (4.) Ma-
“ gistrates are abolished as useless, now that Christ
“ himself is in purity amongst us, and hath erected the
“ kingdom of the faints upon earth. Besides they are
“ tyrants, and oppressors of the liberty of the faints,
“ and tie them to laws and ordinances, mere human
“ inventions: And here I should put out my fourth light,
“ &c. (5.) Then putting his hand into his pocket,
“ and pulling out a little bible, he showed it open to
“ the people, saying, Here is a book you have in
“ great veneration, consisting of two parts, the old and
“ new testament: I must tell you it is abolished; it
“ containeth beggarly rudiments, milk for babes: But
“ now Christ is in glory amongst us, and imparts a far-
“ ther measure of his spirit to his faints than this can
“ afford. I am commanded to burn it before your face.
“ Then putting out the candle, he said; and here my
“ fifth light is extinguished.” It became a pretty com-
mon doctrine at that time, that it was unworthy of a
christian man to pay rent to his fellow-creatures; and
landlords were obliged to use all the penalties of law
against their tenants, whose conscience was scrupulous.

NOTE [G, p. 211.]

WHEN the earl of Derby was alive, he had been
summoned by Ireton to surrender the Isle of Man; and
he returned this spirited and memorable answer. “ I re-
“ ceived your letter with indignation, and with scorn
“ return you this answer; that I cannot but wonder
“ whence you should gather any hopes, that I should
“ prove like you, treacherous to my sovereign; since
“ you cannot be ignorant of my former actions in his

“ late majesty’s service, from which principles of loyal-
 “ ty I am no whit departed. I scorn your proffers; I
 “ disdain your favor; I abhor your treason; and am
 “ so far from delivering up this island to your advantage,
 “ that I shall keep it to the utmost of my power to
 “ your destruction. Take this for your final answer,
 “ and forbear any farther sollicitations: For if you trouble
 “ me with any more messages of this nature, I will
 “ burn the paper and hang up the bearer. This is the
 “ immutable resolution, and shall be the undoubted
 “ practice of him, who accounts it his chiefest glory to
 “ be his majesty’s most loyal and obedient subject.

“ DERBY.”

NOTE [H], p. 215.

IT had been a usual policy of the presbyterian ecclesiastics to settle a chaplain in the great families, who acted as a spy upon his master, and gave them intelligence of the most private transactions and discourses of the family. A signal instance of priestly tyranny, and the subjection of the nobility! They even obliged the servants to give intelligence against their masters. Whitlocke, p. 502. The same author, p. 512. tells the following story. The synod meeting at Perth, and citing the ministers and people, who had expressed a dislike of *their heavenly government*, the men being out of the way, their wives resolved to answer for them. And on the day of appearance, 120 women with good clubs in their hands came and besieged the church, where the reverend ministers sat. They sent one of their number to treat with the females, and he threatening excommunication, they basted him for his labor, kept him prisoner, and sent a party of 60, who routed the rest of the clergy, bruised their bodies forely, took all their baggage and 12 horses. One of the ministers, after a mile’s running, taking all creatures for his foes, meeting with a soldier, fell on his knees, who knowing nothing of the matter

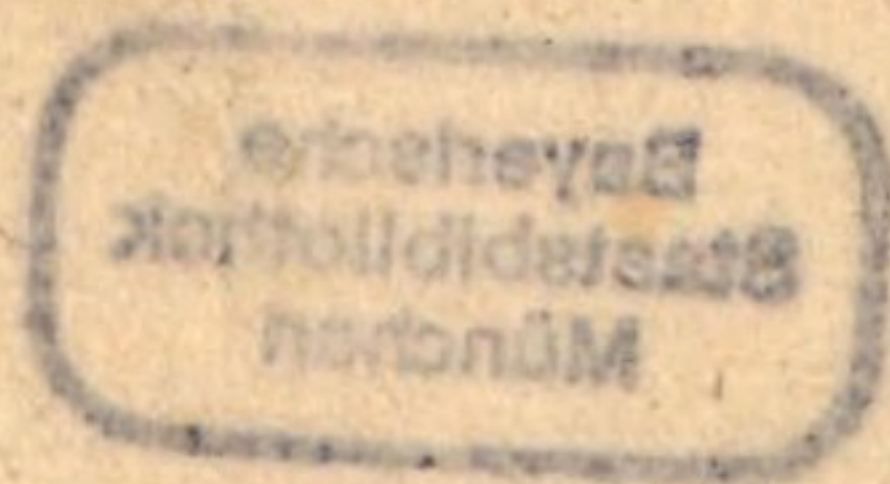
asked the blackcoat what he meant. The female conquerors, having laid hold on the synod-clerk, beat him till he forswore his office. Thirteen ministers rallied about four miles from the place, and voted that this village should never more have a synod in it, but be accursed; and that though in the years 1638 and 39, the godly women were cried up for stoning the bishops, yet now the whole sex should be esteemed wicked.

NOTE [I], p. 286.

ABOUT this time an accident had almost robbed the protector of his life, and saved his enemies the trouble of all their machinations. Having got six fine Friesland coach-horses as a present from the count of Oldenburgh, he undertook for his amusement to drive them about Hyde-park; his secretary, Thurloe, being in the coach. The horses were startled and ran away: He was unable to command them or keep the box. He fell upon the pole, was dragged upon the ground for some time; a pistol, which he carried in his pocket, went off; and by that singular good fortune which ever attended him, he was taken up without any considerable hurt or bruise.

NOTE [K], p. 361.

AFTER Monk's declaration for a free parliament on the 11th of February, he could mean nothing but the king's restoration: Yet it was long before he would open himself even to the king. This declaration was within eight days after his arrival in London. Had he ever intended to have set up for himself, he would not surely have so soon abandoned a project so inviting: He would have taken some steps, which would have betrayed it. It could only have been some disappointment, some frustrated attempt, which could have made him renounce the road of private ambition. But there is not the least symptom of such intentions. The story told of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, by Mr. Locke, has not



any appearance of truth. See lord Lansdown's Vindication, and Philips's Continuation of Baker. I shall add to what those authors have advanced, that cardinal Mazarine wished for the king's restoration; though he would not have ventured much to have procured it.

END OF THE TENTH VOLUME.

END OF THE TENTH VOLUME





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